



SEASONAL MIGRATION OF KASHMIRI LABOUR
A Spatio-Temporal Analysis

RUSSIAN INDEPENDENT AND FREE STATE BANK
of the Russian Republic

SEASONAL MIGRATION

OF

KASHMIRI LABOUR

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(A Spatio-Temporal Analysis)

By

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This book is dedicated to
father and uncles :
Bashir Ahmad
Kh. Abdul Aziz Hashia
Kh. Sanaullah Hashia
who served the poors and
landless labourers with
benevolence and humane heart

as described previously
when the radii
are equal. Since
radii increase as
the wind increases
the resulting effect
is a separation

Preface

The work entitled 'Seasonal Migration of Kashmiri Labour' begins with an exposition of the problem in the introductory chapter in which the significance of the problem, the data base and methodology has been elaborated. The socio-cultural profile and demographic attributes have been given in the second chapter, while the economic attributes have been examined in the third chapter. In this chapter an account of landholdings income and expenditure pattern and occupational structure have been given. For knowing the causes, origin and destination of migratory labourers a detailed picture has been given in chapter fourth.

The last chapter presents the main findings, important problems of the labourers. On the basis of the study some suggestions have also been made which can go a long way in changing the fate of the migratory labourers.

The authors express their sincere gratitudes to Prof. S. Manzoor Alam (ex-Vice-Chancellor), University of Kashmir and Prof. S.M. Rafiullah for their valuable comments, constructive criticism and valuable suggestions. We are also thankful to Mr. Abdul Qadir Mir, Deputy Director, Directorate of Economics and Statistics for providing data and statistics. Thanks are also due to Prof. A.K. Kaul for his sincere comments. Miss Ghadir Fatima assisted the authors in the preparation of maps and diagrams for which we feel indebted. Thanks are also due to the faculty and staff of the Department of Geography & Regional Development, University of Kashmir, Srinagar.

In spite of valuable suggestions from learned scholars, there are imperfections. In order to overcome the shortcomings of the present volume, comments from experts, teachers and students will be welcomed so that the subsequent edition may be improved.

August, 1988

MAJID HUSAIN
M. HASSEENA HASHIA

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Introduction

Human migration is an important problem of the contemporary period in which the social scientists are probing to understand the processes and forces of migration and to understand the behavioural pattern of migrants. Migration is, however, a complex concept which has been defined differently by the social scientists. Ordinarily, migration means a relatively permanent movement of persons over a significant distance to fulfil their economic or socio-cultural needs.¹ Migration has also been defined as a change of residence across an administrative boundary e.g., inter-continental or international, inter-regional or intra-regional, rural to urban, urban to rural, urban to urban and rural to rural.² In all sorts of migration a temporary or permanent shift of residence is imperative. It is because of this fact that migration has been differentiated from visit. In a visit, a person or group of persons go out from his home for some economic or social activity (e.g., shopping) and return home.

In any set of social group of a region both the in and out migration have far reaching consequences especially on the demographic structure, social values, cultural ethos, economy and the mode of living of the people. Geographers are well aware of these problems and they are studying the spatio-temporal facets of migration in a variety of ways.

Since his emergence on the earth surface man has constantly moved from place to place, over long and short distances, in search of means of production to improve his socio-economic status and the well being of his people. The act of migration brings about certain social changes—individual, local and regional. Sometimes, migration creates social problems.³ These social

problems can be observed all over the world but they seem to be quite serious in the developing countries like India.

As stated at the outset, all of the social sciences to a greater or lesser extent are concerned with human migration. The geographers are, however, studying human migration in terms of space and time. In the present study an attempt has been made to analyse the spatial patterns of seasonal migration of Kashmiri labour and to ascertain the pull and push factors which determine their mode of migration and destination of movement. The main objective of the present work is to make an indepth study of the following points :

- (i) Pull and push factors responsible for seasonal migration of Kashmiri labour.
- (ii) The place of origin and destination of Kashmiri labour.
- (iii) The mode of movement and processes of migration.
- (iv) The socio-cultural attributes of the migrant labour.
- (v) The occupational characteristics of the migratory labour.
- (vi) The major problems of migrants and their future prospects.

The hypothesis to be tested in the present study is "the seasonal migration of Kashmiri labour is the result of push rather than pull factors".

Data Base

There is paucity of data and information on the seasonal migration of labour from Kashmir at the macro and meso levels. The Directorate of Evaluation and Statistics, Govt. of Jammu and Kashmir, Srinagar has published a report in two phases, entitled, "Survey of Migratory labourers". This work is a fruitful study which gives relevant information about the number of people who outmigrate from Kashmir. The data pertains to 1974 and 1976 which in the present context may be considered as obsolete. A comprehensive study of this important problem of social relevance has, however, not been made. The Digest of Statistics published by the Directorate of Economics Government of Jammu and Kashmir also has not provided detailed tables about the labourers who move out of Kashmir during the winter season to improve

their lots by finding suitable jobs in the urban and rural places of the neighbouring states.

In the absence of relevant published data, the authors have generated data and information in the form of structured schedules. A field study was conducted in 20 sample villages during the winters of 1984 and summers of 1985. The major problem the authors confronted while doing field work for the generation of primary data was the reluctance of the people to give correct information about their assets and income and expenditure patterns. The problem was, however, solved by consulting the female members of the households who extended their full co-operation in the work. Being a female investigator, problems were also faced in the conduction of field work in the relatively isolated villages during the snowy winters. The selection of time, i.e., the winter and summer season was deliberate to ascertain authentic information about the migratory labourers who are away during winters and generally return back to their families in summers.

The structured schedules, used in the present study have been given at the end of the work. The structure and objectives of the schedules have been described briefly in the following paras.

Village Schedule

The village schedule was designed to ascertain the physical personality and socio-cultural milieu of the sample villages, highlighting their nomenclature, location, terrain, slope, drainage, soils, demographic characteristics, land tenancy, land use patterns etc. The village schedules were partly filled with the help of the census of India 1981 and partly by making on the spot study. The specific problems of labourers of individual villages were also recorded.

Household Schedule

The second schedule pertains to households. This schedule was made to gather information about the family size, land available per household, work force, sex-ratio, literacy rate, dependency ratio and the process of decision making for sending the members of the family outside of the state for employment and other economic activities.

Methodology

Over the last two decades geographers in their study of migration have developed several methodologies, i.e., aggregate, behavioural, structural, consequential. In the present study a simple analysis of Kashmiri labourers, their problems and prospects has been made by applying statistical and cartographic techniques. The data obtained from the published records and generated by field work were processed and converted into frequency tables. The results thus obtained were plotted on maps for spatio-temporal analysis. In the cartography of maps stress has been given on the techniques of flow diagrams to depict the places of origin and destination, pi-diagrams to show the occupational structure, sex-ratio, dependency ratio of the sampled villages; and age and sex pyramids to know the proportion of males and females in the various age groups.

Area of Study

The Kashmir Division—the highly fertile and scenic part of the state of Jammu and Kashmir comprises of six administrative districts namely, Anantnag, Baramulla, Badgam, Pulwama, Srinagar and Kupwara. It sprawls over 15,853 sq. miles with a total population of 3,134,904 in 1981.

The Valley of Kashmir, geologically of recent origin Kashmir is a synclinal basin and has the character of an enclosed vale, being surrounded by an unbroken ring of young folded mountain ranges with Pir-Panjal in the south and Zanskar range in the north. Having been the scene of simultaneous operation of the complementary processes of deposition and sub-areal denudation, its surface features show an inextricable juxtaposition of both. The Pir-Panjal forms quite a formidable barrier on the south and southwest, separating it from the Jammu region, the Great Himalayas and the Zanskar ranges shut it off from the frost bitten plateau desert of Ladakh and Baltistan. The region is drained by innumerable streams and rivers but mainly by Jhelum (Vitasta), Sindh (a tributary of Jhelum), Rambiar, Lidder, Duganga Harwan and Pohru. The Kashmir Division has a temperate continental climate (Cfa).

Nearly 75 per cent of the total population is living in villages

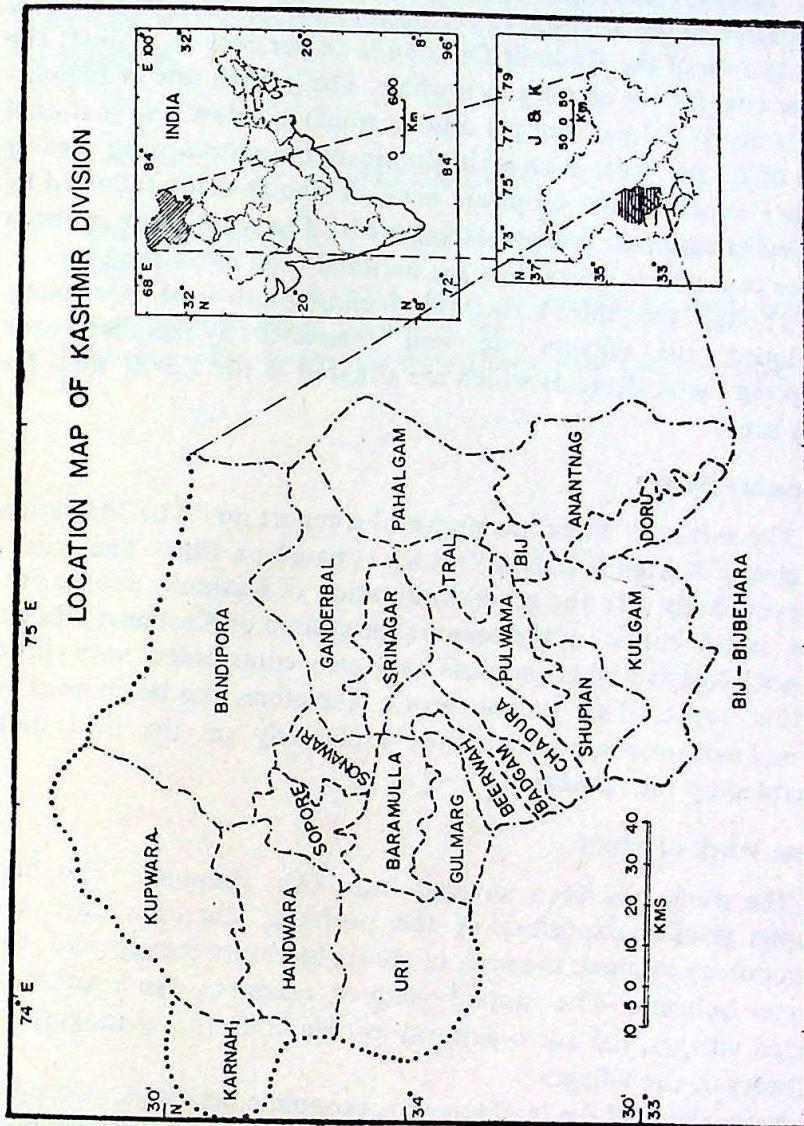


Fig. 1.1

depending directly or indirectly on cultivation of crops, horticulture, forestry, gathering and hunting. The existing pressure of population in the Division is 197 persons per sq. km. The overall literacy rate of the Kashmir Division is 24 per cent as against the 36 per cent for the country as a whole. The growth rate of population is nearly 2.3 per cent per annum which is below the national level of 2.5 per cent. Rice is the dominant crop, occupying nearly 70 per cent of the cropped area of the Division followed by horticulture, maize, fodder and oil-seeds. The work force is about 31 per cent which is less than the national level of 34 per cent.

Though the infra-structural facilities are not adequately developed, the villages are well connected by metalled roads excepting the settlements which are situated in the *Kandi* and far flung areas.

Literature Survey

The survey of India has prepared a report on "The Migration Patterns of Kashmiri Labour" which is based on 1981. The study, however, deals with the general migration of Kashmiri people and there is no thrust on the seasonal migration of Kashmiri labour. The sociologists and economists have also contributed very little on this topic. The present work, therefore, can be claimed as original and unique, based almost exclusively on the field data generated by the authors.

Frame Work of Study

The study has been divided into five chapters. The first Chapter gives an exposition of the problem, the data base, the methodology applied, the area of study, literature survey and the Chapter scheme. The second chapter examines the location of selected villages, the socio-cultural profile and the demographic attributes of the villages.

An analysis of the land tenancy, economic activities, occupational structure and income and expenditure patterns of those who outmigrate during the winter season has been made in the Third Chapter.

Chapter fourth gives an account of the places of origin and destination of migrants, the mode of movement and the economic activities which they perform in the neighbouring states.

The last chapter gives the main findings of the study, the problem which the migrants come across in this process of migration, the future prospects and some suggestions which may go a long way in improving the destiny of these outmigrant labourers of Kashmir.

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2. Johnes, E., and Eyles, John, 1977, *An Introduction Social Geography*, Oxford University Press, London, p. 184.
3. Lewis, G.J., 1982, *Human Migration*, Croom Helm Ltd. London, p. 1.
4. *Ibid.*

Selected Villages—Socio-Economic Profile

Information about the place of origin and destination of the Kashmiri labourers who outmigrate during the winter/summer is not available. A field survey conducted shows that the main feeders of outgoing labourers are the Tehsils of Kupwara, Handwara, Shupiyan, Kulgam and Doru. Labour originates mainly from the *Kandi* areas of Kupwara, Handwara, Shupiyan and Kulgam owing to the harsh climatic conditions and rugged terrains, while from the plain parts of the Kashmir Division those people who migrate are generally those who have small holdings but large families to support. This is however, an over generalisation. In order to make a more reliable assessment, a survey was done at the village and household levels. It is, therefore, pertinent to discuss the physical settings of the selected villages, their demographic attributes, occupational structure, dependency ratio, literacy rate and age-sex composition. In this chapter a general profile of the selected villages has been given.

According to the census of 1981, the total population of Kashmir Division was 3,134,904. There are 28 towns and 2,907 villages in the Division. In the absence of published data, survey was the only alternative. To survey the entire population of the division in a short time was not possible and therefore, sampling became imperative. For the selection of villages a purposive random sampling technique was adopted. The factor of accessibility was also taken into consideration. With the help of the structured schedules 20 villages were surveyed for the seasonal migration of Kashmiri labourers. These 20 villages are by and

large the representatives of the area under study and it is hoped that their varying characteristics will give a reasonably reliable cross section of the Kashmiri outmigrant labourers.

On the basis of the criteria described, the following 20 villages were selected to test the hypothesis formulated.

Bani-Mulla, Bata-Gund, Champora, Doru, Gundi-Hado, Gagren, Gungloosa, Khulora, Kakran, Kanipora, Kalmona, Lok Bawan Larkipora, Mundah, Sangas, Shupiyan, Shumriyal, Solina, Shoolora, Wowripora and Wilgam.

These villages are situated in the Tehsils of Doru (Anantnag Distt.), Handwara (Kupwara Distt.), Kulgam (Anantnag Distt.), Kupwara (Kupwara Distt.) and Shupiyan (Pulwama Distt.).

TABLE 2.1
Selected Villages—Location

<i>District</i>	<i>Tehsil</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Name of the Villages</i>
Anantnag	Doru	4	Bata-Gund, Doru, Lok Bawan Larkipora,
Anantnag	Kulgam	4	Bani-Mulla, Khulora, Kakran, Sangas.
Kupwara	Kupwara	4	Gungloosa, Shumriyal, Solina, Shoolora.
Kupwara	Handwara	4	Champora, Kalmona, Wowripora, Wilgam.
Pulwama	Shupiyan	4	Gundi-Hado, Gagren, Kanipora, Shupiyan.

The location of different villages is given in Table 2.1. It may be seen from the Table 2.1 that four villages namely, Bata-Gund, Doru, Lok Bawan Larkipora and Mundah are situated in the Doru Tehsil of Anantnag district; four villages, Bani-Mulla, Khulora, Kakran and Sangas are from the Kulgam Tehsil of the same district. There are four villages, namely, Gungloosa, Shumriyal, Solina and Shoolora from the Kupwara tehsil of the Kupwara district and the same number (Champora, Kalmona Wowripora and Wilgam) from the Handwara tehsil of the Kupwara district. The remaining four villages (Gundi-Hado,

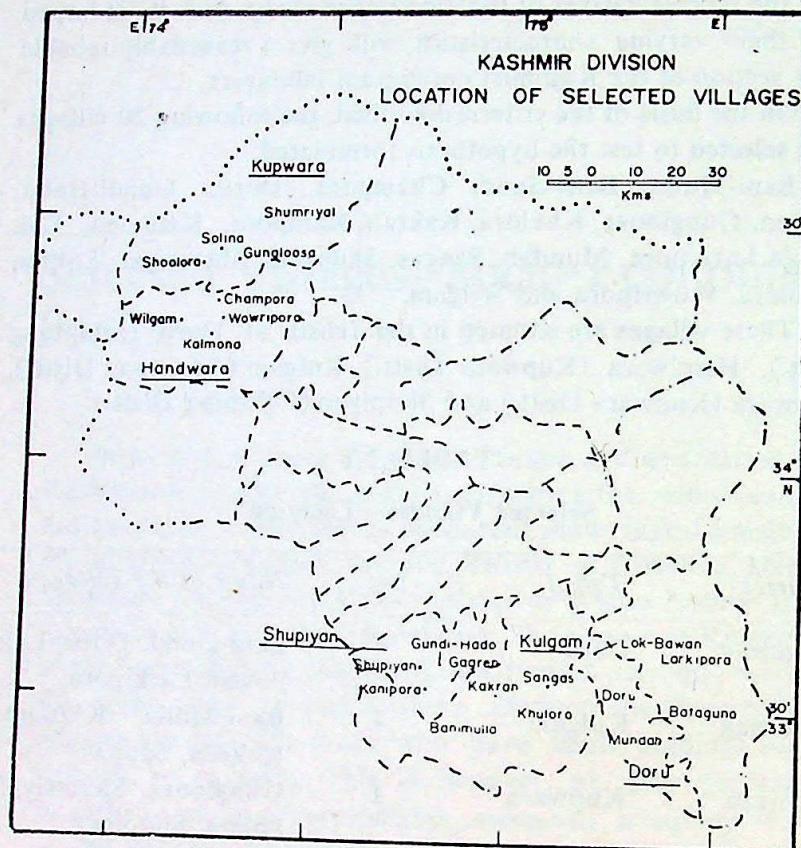


Fig. 20

Gagren, Kanipora and Shupiyan) and from the Shupiyan tehsil of the Pulwama district.

Out of the twenty villages thirteen are situated in the Jhelum plains and the remaining seven in the *Kandi* areas (outer rims of the valley) of Kupwara district. The seven villages which lie in *Kandi* areas are Champora, Gungloosa, Kalmona, Shumriyal, Solina, Shoolora and Wowripora. The height of these villages is about 2150 metres above the sea level. The winters in *Kandi* areas are harsh and snow and rainfall between November and March make the life of the people miserable. The outdoor activities get suspended during this period and most of the people become idle and unemployed.

It would be interesting to know the prevailing weather and climatic conditions of these villages which shall help in knowing the environmental determinism on the mode of life of the rural

people. In fact, the severe winters and the resultant unemployment may be said as the major push factors which force the active population to leave their homes and to move out to the relatively warmer plains of India in which better job opportunities are available.

Climate in general has a close influence on the mode of life of the people. This influence is even more conspicuous in the case of Kashmir as the weather here has a marked seasonality. The valley has rather a long spring—fairly cold and showery, extending from March through April into half of the May. Summers are much less rainy than the spring and quite warm. In Srinagar, the mean maximum temperature in July reads 30.8°C with a diurnal range of 12.5°C. The total rainfall received during the southwest monsoon period is only three fifths of the spring rains. As usual the behaviour of the summer rainfall is highly erratic, and an unequal distribution within different parts is a norm rather than an exception. Both the maximum and minimum temperatures start falling by August and are quite low by October. Although radiation from the earth is rapid in the later months, September and October have the maximum diurnal ranges of temperature. The valley normally receives first snowfall only in December but the surrounding mountains may get it any time after the middle of October. By the end of December snow is almost universal and for two months, upto the middle of February, the valley remains in the grip of "cold dampness" with snow covering the ground completely and a perennial fog hanging over it. The snow generally disappears from the plain areas by the end of February but not the dampness with rains replacing the snow almost everywhere in the following spring.¹

The long rainy spells and cold, bleak winters reduce the free movement within the region to the minimum. This makes average Kashmiri more weather conscious than his counterparts elsewhere.

A year in Kashmir is generally divisible into four seasons :

- | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------|
| (i) Winter (<i>Wandah</i>) | December to February; |
| (ii) Spring (<i>Sont</i>) . | March to May; |
| (iii) Summer (<i>Grishum</i>) | June to August; and |
| (iv) Autumn (<i>Harud</i>) | September to November. |

Each season is of three months duration. Traditionally Kashmiris recognise six seasons, each of two months duration :

(i) <i>Sont</i> (Spring)	Mid March to Mid May
(ii) <i>Grishum</i> (Summer)	Mid May to Mid July
(iii) <i>Wahrat</i> (Rainy)	Mid July to Mid September
(iv) <i>Harud</i> (Autumn)	Mid September to Mid November
(v) <i>Wandah</i> (Winter)	Mid November to Mid January
(vi) <i>Shishur</i> (Intense cold)	Mid January to Mid March.

A peasant in the field often casts the ensuing weather by the presence of a particular cloud in the sky or when a certain peak in the neighbourhood is covered by clouds.²

The man in the street is at home with this scheme of seasons. This gives an idea how the local people from the ancient times in the absence of scientific equipment could give thought and system to one of the important elements of the Kashmir environment.³

Winter Season

The winter in Kashmir is dominated by atmospheric disturbances called the western depressions. The depressions are also the chief carriers of winter snow and rains in Kashmir. Snow fall usually commences by the middle of December and continues upto the end of March. The highest number of occurrences is observed during 25 December to 25 February. January holds a leading position in terms of daily average snowfall. By 22nd December the cold intensifies and the over cast sky is a regular feature. The date marks the beginning of *Chilla-Kalan* (Severe cold), which lasts for forty days. This is the period of sub-zero temperature, heavy snowfall and frost. This is followed by *Chilla-khured* of 20 days duration. At the end comes *Chilla Bacha* which lasts for 10 days. The *Chilla kalan* is called the 'core of winter' which lasts from 22nd December to end of February.

Spring Season

By March, weather shows visible signs of improvement. Snow disappears and temperature starts to rise. March is the rainiest month of the year and major climatic phenomena in spring are

not fundamentally different to those in winter. In April about 78 mm of rain are received and this marks the first phase of spring locally known as *Ganddhi Bahar* (the wet spring). May is comparatively warm, sunny and less rainy.

Summer Season

Summer is characterised by high temperature, high humidity, low atmospheric pressure, high precipitation, long day and occasional gusty winds. The day temperature remains remarkably high and constant between June and September, a feature, which, coupled with high humidity (70-80 per cent), makes the weather very oppressive. It is in the surrounding hills that the Kashmir summers are really pleasant.

Autumn Season

Autumn is perhaps the best season in Kashmir. It is characterised by least disturbed weather, greatest amount of sunshine, high diurnal range of temperature and little rain or snow. The maximum temperature during this season drops from 25°C at the beginning to 19°C at the close. The minimum temperature shows a fall of 5°C from 8°C to 3°C. The most interesting feature of the temperature is the sharp fall in the temperature of day and night in October. For the first half of the month of October the diurnal range of temperature is 17°C and in the second half it is 16°C. This necessitates the use of excess bedding at night. Mornings and evenings are generally cold in autumn and the temperatures slump at the occurrence of clouds.

The analysis of the seasons made in the foregoing paras shows that winters are very cold especially during the period of *Chilla-kalan*, in which the poor people face a lot of difficulties in their sustenance. These deterrent winters and the high cost of living compel the labourers to find jobs in the plains of Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and the Union Territory of Delhi.

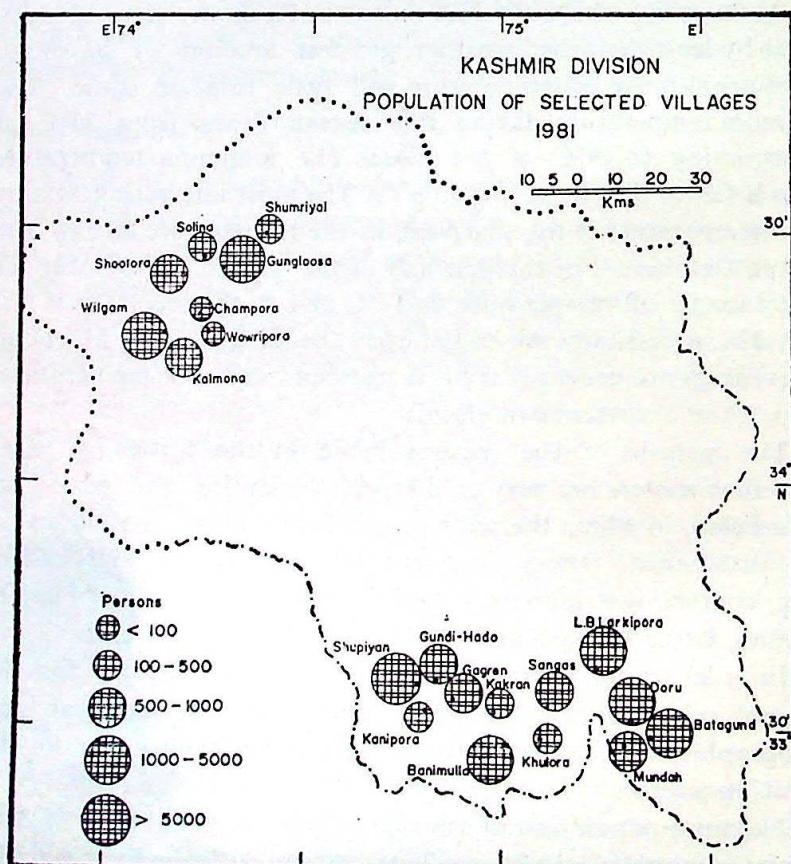
In order to understand the push and pull factors for the seasonal migration of Kashmiri labour, a socio-cultural and demographic profile of the selected villages has been given in the following paras :

The total population of selected villages in 1981 was 31,286. The size of population of the villages varies, with the location and fertility of the surrounding land.

TABLE 2.2

Selected Villages—Population

<i>Population</i>	<i>No. of Villages</i>	<i>Name of Villages</i>
Below 100	2	Champora, Wowripora
100—500	5	Khulora, Kakran, Kanipora, Shumriyal, Solina.
500—1000	6	Gundi-Hado, Gagren, Kalmona, Mundah, Sangas, Shoolora.
1000—5000	6	Bani-Mulla, Bata-Gund, Doru, Gungloosa, Lok Bawan Larki- pora, Wilgam.
5000—Above	1	Shupiyan



The size of villages on the basis of population has been classified in Table 2.2. The largest village (Shupiyan) has a population of 9,653 and the smallest (Wowripora) has only 45 persons.

It will be seen from Table 2.2 that two villages, namely, Champora and Wowripora have populations less than 100 persons and five villages i.e., Khulora, Kakran, Kanipora, Shumriyal and Solina have less than 500 persons. In six villages the size of population varies between 500 and 1000 persons. There are six villages having population between 1000-5000 and in only one village (Shupiyan) the population is more than 5000 persons.

A comparison of Table 2.1 and 2.2 shows that the villages of Kupwara situated in *Kandi* areas are relatively small and those located in the plain areas have large size of population. This is simply because the rugged topography, thin soil cover, and the absence of irrigation facilities act as deterrents to sizeable population concentration. In fact the people of *Kandi* villages are living at a poor level of subsistence and they seasonally migrate to the various places of the great plains of India.

The simple growth rates of the population of selected villages for the decade 1971-81 have been worked out with the help of the following formula and the results arrived at have been given in Table 2.3.

$$\text{Growth rate} = \frac{P_1 - P_0}{P_0} \times 100$$

where P_1 denotes the population of 1981 and P_0 that of 1971.

It will be seen from table 2.3 that the Total population of the sample villages was 24,714 in 1971 which rose to 31,286 in 1981 recording a growth rate of 26.6 per cent. This growth rate population is appreciably higher to that of the national growth of rate of 25 per cent but lower than that of the state average of 31 per cent for the same period. In the absence of immigration higher birth rate and low death rate seems to be the main cause for rapid increase in population of the selected villages.

The highest growth rate in the decade 1971-81 was recorded in Khulora village (Anantnag Distt.) in which the total population of 304 persons (1971) increased to 442 in 1981, showing an increase of 45.3 per cent. This tremendous increase in population of the village is exceptional and demands indepth investigation. The

TABLE 2.3
Selected Villages—Growth of Population

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Name of Villages</i>	<i>Population 1971</i>	<i>Population 1981</i>	<i>Percentage Increase/Decrease</i>
1.	Bani-Mulla	811	1,033	+27.4
2.	Bata-Gund	2,149	2,952	+37.4
3.	Champora	354	99	-72.0
4.	Doru	3,597	4,776	+32.8
5.	Gundi-Hado	701	883	+26.0
6.	Gagren	609	809	+32.8
7.	Gungloosa	1,361	1,830	+34.4
8.	Khulora	304	442	+45.3
9.	Kakran	277	348	+25.6
10.	Kanipora	263	351	+33.5
11.	Kalmona	439	548	+24.8
12.	Lok Bawan Larkipora	1,955	2,448	+25.2
13.	Mundah	741	956	+29.0
14.	Sangas	680	882	+29.7
15.	Shupiyan	7,836	9,653	+23.2
16.	Shumriyal	297	396	+33.3
17.	Solina	140	165	+17.8
18.	Shoolora	756	927	+22.6
19.	Wowripora	36	45	+25.0
20.	Wilgam	1,408	1,743	+23.8
Total		24,714	31,286	26.6

Source: Census of India, 1971, 1981.

inhabitants of the village, however, could not respond satisfactorily about this phenomenal increase of population. Six villages, namely, Bata-Gund, Doru, Gagren, Gungloosa, Kanipora and Shumriyal, recorded a population increase between 30-40 per cent. Eleven villages (Bani-Mulla, Gundi-Hado, Kalmona, Kakran, Lok Bawan Larkipora, Mundah, Sangas, Shupiyan, Shoolora, Wowripora and Wilgam) increase their population between 20-30 per cent, while population of one village namely, Solina (Kupwara Distt.) increased by less than 20 per cent—much below the state and the national level.

One village namely, Champora (Kupwara Distt.) showed a negative growth rate in which the population of 354 in 1971 decreased to only 99 persons in 1981. The main reason for this decrease is that in 1971 this village along with some other villages belonged to the Tehsil Kupwara. During the census of 1981 it was transferred to Tehsil Handwara. The demarcation was made in such a way that its maximum portion remained with Tehsil Kupwara, but the portion which was given to Tehsil Handwara is known as Champora. Moreover, due to its unfavourable environmental conditions and severe winters people originally living in Champora have settled in other villages of Tehsil Kupwara and Handwara.

In order to ascertain the group of people who seasonally out-migrate from the Kashmir Division, it is imperative to examine the literacy rate, size of family, type of family, sex-ratio, age-structure, dependency ratio, caste-structure, fertility and mortality. An attempt, in the following pages has therefore been made to analyse these attributes of population.

Literacy and Education

The ability of a person to read and write with understanding a short simple statement in his daily life is termed as literacy.⁴ On the basis of literacy a person recognizes himself and his surroundings. Human beings are distinguished from other creatures due to literacy. Literacy opens new avenues to a person which otherwise remain hidden and closed to him.

A wise diffusion of literacy and education is indispensable to the processes of development, both in economic and social terms. Though education by itself does not generate socio-economic progress, the lack of it can certainly be an impediment in the

developmental process. A certain minimum development of literacy is, therefore, a basic requirement for a people to get out of ignorance and backwardness.⁵ This also enhances the employment opportunity of a person.⁶

As per 1981 census, the literacy rate of Kashmir division was 24, which is below the state average (27) and national, average (36). This prevailing illiteracy is largely a legacy of the past. It is only during the past 35 years or so that advance in literacy became noticeable. The State Government has taken and is taking concrete steps for the wide diffusion of education and literacy. But all the localities do not respond to these opportunities equally, so this lead to serious inequalities in literacy.

The percentage of literacy of the sample households is far from uniform. It varies from one locality to another and from village to village. The literacy rate of sample households has been given in Table 2.4.

The Table 2.4 discloses that the percentage of literates to the total population in the 20 sample villages ranges from zero in Champora (Handwara Tehsil), to 29.1 per cent in Doru (Doru Tehsil). This range of literacy percentages can be categorised in three groups as given in Table 2.5.

An analysis of Table 2.5 makes it evident that the total number of villages in A, B and C category is 4, 12 and 4 respectively. Two villages of Tehsil Kulgam (Bani-Mulla and Kakran) and one each of Tehsil Doru (Mundah) and Tehsil Handwara (Champora) have very low literacy percentage ranging between zero and ten. All the villages of Tehsil Kupwara (Gungloosa, Shumriyal, Solina and Shoolora) two each of Handwara (Wowripora and Kalmona) and Kulgam Tehsils (Khulora and Sangas), three villages of Shupiyan Tehsil (Gagren, Gundi-Hado and Kanipora) and one village of Doru Tehsil (Bata-Gund) belong to the category B. Two villages of Doru (Lok Bawan Larkipora and Doru), one village each of Handwara (Wilgam) and Shupiyan have more than 20 per cent literates of the respective population.

It is evident from this analysis that the literacy rate of 18 villages is less than the average of the Kashmir Division (24%) and in only two villages namely, Doru and Lok Bawan Larkipora, it is above this average. The overall picture of literacy is far from satisfactory as the mean literacy percentage for all these villages is only 14.8.

TABLE 2.4
Selected Villages—Literacy Rate 1984-85

S. No.	<i>Villages</i>	<i>Percentage</i>		
		<i>Literates to total population</i>	<i>Male literates to male population</i>	<i>Female literates to female population</i>
1.	Bani-Mulla	6.0	12.5	Nil
2.	Bata-Gund	18.4	42.7	4.2
3.	Champora	Nil	Nil	Nil
4.	Doru	29.1	46.2	15.8
5.	Gundi-Hado	12.8	13.6	6.7
6.	Gagren	12.2	15.2	Nil
7.	Gungloosa	16.2	30.0	Nil
8.	Khulora	14.8	20.0	4.6
9.	Kakran	3.5	6.7	Nil
10.	Kanipora	14.0	19.2	Nil
11.	Kalmona	11.5	15.4	7.7
12.	Lok Bawan Larkipora	25.6	41.7	10.7
13.	Mundah	8.1	5.9	10.0
14.	Sangas	18.8	35.3	4.8
15.	Shupiyan	21.4	31.6	8.3
16.	Shumriyal	16.7	31.2	5.0
17.	Solina	15.5	20.0	5.9
18.	Shoolora	17.9	40.0	4.5
19.	Wowripora	12.5	16.7	8.3
20.	Wilgam	20.4	36.7	18.2
<i>Average</i>		14.8	24.0	5.7

Source : Field Work,

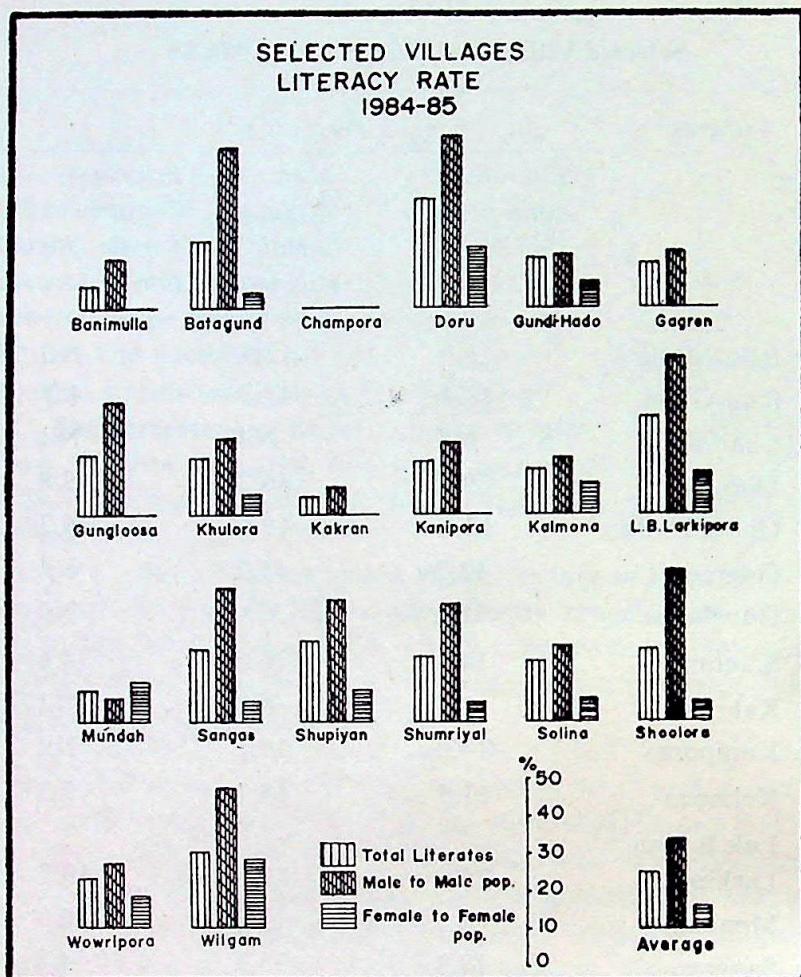


Fig. 2.2

The low literacy rate of the villages under study may be attributed to the following reasons. Champora is situated in far-flung locality on the spur of a hill in the Handwara Tehsil. It has neither a primary school nor a *Maktab* (Arabic school). The nearest school situated at a distance of 3 km. can be reached after crossing a hilly terrain. Modernization has not reached this hamlet. The people usually lead the life of nomads or eke-out their living by begging. On the other hand, the high literacy of Doru is due to its position as a tehsil headquarter in which educational and other socio-cultural facilities are available, Lok Bawan

TABLE 2.5

Literacy Percentage in Selected Villages 1984-85

<i>Category</i>	<i>Percentage of literates</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Name of villages</i>
A	Below 10 per cent	4	Bani-Mulla, Champora, Kakran and Mundah.
B	10-20	12	Bata-Gund, Gundihado, Gagren, Gungloosa, Kanipora, Kalmona, Khulora, Sangas, Shumriyal, Shoolora, Solina and Wowripora.
C	20-30	4	Doru, Lok Bawan Larkipora, Shupiyan and Wilgam.

Larkipora village also has a high literacy rate, as it is situated in the vicinity of Doru. Similarly Shupiyan is a tehsil headquarter and Wilgam is located close to the tehsil headquarter of Handwara. The contact with other parts of the country and their relative material well-being has created an awareness for securing education. More children are finding their way to the schools of these localities.

All the villages falling in the B category, (Bata-Gund, Gundihado, Gagren, Gungloosa, Kanipora, Kalmona Khulora, Sangas, Shumriyal, Shoolora, Solina and Wowripora) have schools and other school facilities (*Anganwari*, adult education etc.).

The ratio between literate and illiterate population in Kashmir Division is almost 1 : 3. The literate population of 732,440 persons consist of 548,626 males and 183,814 and thus the ratio between female and male literates is also of the order of 3 : 1.

When the figures of Table 2.4 are examined sexwise, the percentage of male literates is far higher than the female literates, which is 24.0% and 5.7% respectively. Champora has zero per cent male literates whereas the highest percentage of male literacy is in

Doru (46.2). The two other villages namely, Bata-Gund and Lok Bawan Larkipora have about 42 per cent of males as literates.

Two more villages Kakran and Mundah have the male literacy less than 10 per cent while in eight villages (Bani-Mulla, Gandi-Hado, Gagren, Khulora, Kanipora, Kalmona, Solina and Wowripora) the male literacy rate varies between 10-20 per cent. In the remaining villages, the category rate ranges between 20-30 per cent. It has been observed that it is in the illiterate male dominated villages where from most of the people outmigrate.

It is unfortunate that six villages out of the twenty villages namely, Bani-Mulla, Champora, Gagren Gungloosa, Kakran, Kanipora have female literacy zero or around zero per cent. Eleven out of the selected villages have female literacy of 1-10 per cent, while in three villages it is between 10-20 per cent. The highest percentage (18.2 per cent) is found in the village Wilgam (Handwara Tehsil). The comparatively high percentage of female literacy in Wilgam village may be attributed to its location near the Handwara town. Orthodoxy and strong social traditions are the main retardants to the popularization of education and literacy among the females.

It has been found that daughters generally share and shoulder the entire household and farm work from their childhood. So parents do not bother for their education and schooling. Contrary to this, in cities and urban centres the education of females is considered to be essential which improves their social status and helps in finding good jobs and improve their prospects for better marriage. But this is not the problem with the females of rural areas. They either fetch bridemoney or the husband as *Khanadamad* and thus a young farm-hand is added to the working force of the family.

Early marriages of the females is another reason for lack of literacy. They could not continue their education after their marriage for which they are removed from schools earlier. The general misunderstanding with the men-folk in the backward areas is that education gives confidence and courage to a girl, who cease to be the slave of a man. Whatsoever the cause of illiteracy may be the illiterate male workers outmigrate in winters to find employment.

A synoptic view of literacy and education has been given in Table 2.6.

TABLE 2.6
Selected Villages—Level of Education 1984-85

S No.	Name of villages	Percentage				
		Primary and below	Middle	Matric	Gradu- ate	Others
1.	Bani-Mulla	50.0	50.0	—	—	—
2.	Bata-Gund	66.7	33.3	—	—	—
3.	Champora	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	—
4.	Doru	55.6	11.1	33.3	—	—
5.	Gundi-Hado	50.0	50.0	—	—	—
6.	Gagren	—	80.0	20.0	—	—
7.	Gungloosa	66.7	33.3	—	—	—
8.	Khulora	33.3	16.7	50.0	—	—
9.	Kakran	100.0	—	—	—	—
10.	Kanipora	—	33.3	50.0	16.7	—
11.	Kalmona	33.3	33.3	33.4	—	—
12.	Lok Bawan Larkipora	71.4	—	14.3	14.3	—
13.	Mundah	42.9	57.1	—	—	—
14.	Sangas	28.6	57.1	—	14.3	—
15.	Shupiyan	28.6	42.8	28.6	—	—
16.	Shumriyal	33.3	66.7	—	—	—
17.	Solina	40.0	40.0	20.0	—	—
18.	Shoolora	57.1	28.6	14.3	—	—
19.	Wowripora	—	66.7	33.3	—	—
20.	Wilgam	40.0	33.4	13.3	13.3	—

Source : Field work.

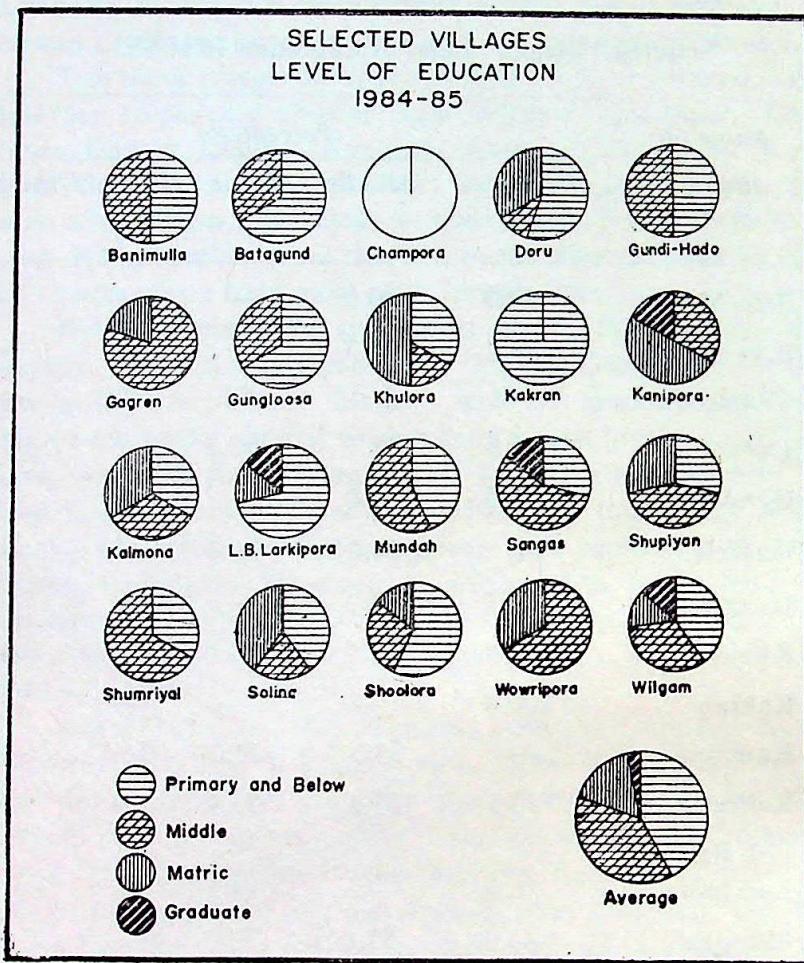


Fig. 2.3

An examination of Table 2.6 shows that the proportion of primary and middle pass among the educated is 42 and 38.6 per cent respectively, while there are only three per cent who have crossed the school stage. In general the proportion of primary level educated persons is higher in the selected villages. Unfortunately, facilities of technical training are not available in and around the villages. The non-availability of such trainings retards the better employment opportunities of the rural small farmers and landless labourers.⁷

Family Structure

Family is generally taken as to consist of persons who usually live and dine together with their resident dependents. It is a fundamental unit in providing procreation and upbringing children in human society.⁸ Family as a social institution fulfils many important needs in the society and it will be appropriate to remark that among social institutions the family is the most multifarious of all. It is the family which provides for effective functioning of social system by creating opportunity for social interaction and by laying down norms governing conduct of its members. It has been rightly accepted as an important agency in the development of an individual's personality especially in respect of this transformation of children into responsible citizens.⁹

There has been a change universally in the structure and functioning of the family to suit the changed conditions of social system in which it has been operating.¹⁰ At present there exist three types of families in Kashmir:

- (i) Joint families,
- (ii) Nuclear families,
- (iii) Single families.

The number of these categories in a particular class or group of people can determine their attitude, availability of space, economic conditions, adaptability and adjustment to a particular physical setting.

'Joint families' are the families where a couple, their children and grand-children are living together or two or more brothers with their wives and children are living jointly. Irawati-Karve has described "a joint family as a group of people who generally live under one roof, who eat food cooked at one hearth, who hold property in common and who participate in common worship and are related to each other as some particular type of kindred".¹¹

A 'nuclear family' is one which consists of a married couple with their offsprings.¹² Professor Lowie's opinion supports this view when he remarks that the one fact stands out beyond all others that everywhere the husband, wife and minor children constitute a unit part from the remainder of the community.¹³

'Single families' are without children or in which either wife or husband is dead or divorced.

The institution of joint family in Kashmir has its source in the old Hindu Society. Among the Hindus the eldest male member was the supreme authority in the affairs of the family and the earnings of the individual members were pooled together to meet the daily needs. Though Islam does not favour the system of joint family, but in Kashmir even the Muslims usually lived together under the same roof and had joint property in the name of the eldest male member.¹⁴

Joint family is generally accepted as a source of status, security and strength but with the change of time there has been change in this stand also, especially due to rejection of ideology 'might is right' and acceptance of democratic principles of living.¹⁵ So joint families are vanishing gradually. In the present age any person whose husband or wife is dead or divorced hardly remains without the second marriage, so the single family system is on the decline, joint families are a symbol of tradition-bound societies whereas the nuclear families go hand to hand with modern nuclear and industrial age.¹⁶

The family structure of the sample households of the selected villages has been given in Table 2.7.

TABLE 2.7
Selected Villages' Family Structure 1984-85

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Type of families</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1.	Joint families	92	46
2.	Nuclear families	98	49
3	Single families	10	5
	Total	200	100

The Table 2.7 discloses that out of the total number of 200 families, 46 per cent (92) continued to be the joint families. This is because of the tradition bound nature of the elderly people in rural

Kashmir. There still exists a substantial portion of old people among the village folk who hate and despise the nuclear families. They feel that the breaking of the family is a challenge to their leadership and a sort of a revolt against their authority. Holding the family together gives this elderly person a social recognition. They strive their best to fore-stall any move to break the family. This they do not like during their life time. Anything can take place after their death, they assert.

The second important factor responsible for the existence of joint families is the paucity of agricultural land. A joint family supports both the workers and non-workers, shirkers and sharers alike. Separation from the joint family means a separate house and the adoption of a vocation. House construction, involves a lot of expenditure which for a person of little means, is almost impossible to afford. The marriage among the cousins also cements the family bonds and holds it together. The joint family which provide a sense of security works as a stimulus for seasonal migration as the migrant knows that his family and children will be looked after by his joint family members.

The percentage of nuclear families is 49, which is slightly more than the percentage of joint families. The high percentage of nuclear families reveals the influence of modernisation. Young people as a matter of fact, like to lead a life of their own choice, without submitting themselves to the authority of their elders, with the exit of the father or grand father from the scene. It is with changed values of sons and daughters, sons-in-law and daughters-in-law to live together under one roof. The marriages with the cousins are also avoided. The arrival of the bride from an entirely different background is a potent factor in the establishment of nuclear families.

The percentage of single families is small being only five per cent. Ordinarily remarriages of widows, widowers and divorcees is a common feature in rural Kashmir. On the face of it, this is only in special circumstances that we have single families in the countryside of Kashmir.

The villagewise family structure is given in Table 2.8.

An analysis of Table 2.8 reveals that the highest percentage of joint family is in the Khulora village of the Kulgam Tehsil. The joint family percentage being 100 per cent shows a tradition bound

TABLE 2.8

Selected Villages—Family Types—1984-85

S. No.	Village >	Percentage of families		
		Joint	Nuclear	Single
1.	Bani-Mulla	60	40	Nil
2.	Bata-Gund	40	60	Nil
3.	Champora	20	60	20
4.	Doru	20	80	Nil
5.	Gundi-Hado	40	60	Nil
6.	Gagren	60	40	Nil
7.	Gungloosa	60	40	Nil
8.	Khulora	100	Nil	Nil
9.	Kakran	20	60	20
10.	Kanipora	40	60	Nil
11.	Kalmona	20	60	20
12.	Lok Bawan Larkipora	20	80	Nil
13.	Mundah	40	40	20
14.	Sangas	40	60	Nil
15.	Shupiyan	80	20	Nil
16.	Shumriyal	60	40	Nil
17.	Solina	60	40	Nil
18.	Shoolora	40	60	Nil
19.	Wowripora	20	60	20
20.	Wilgam	80	20	Nil
Average		46	49	5

Source : Field work by the authoress.

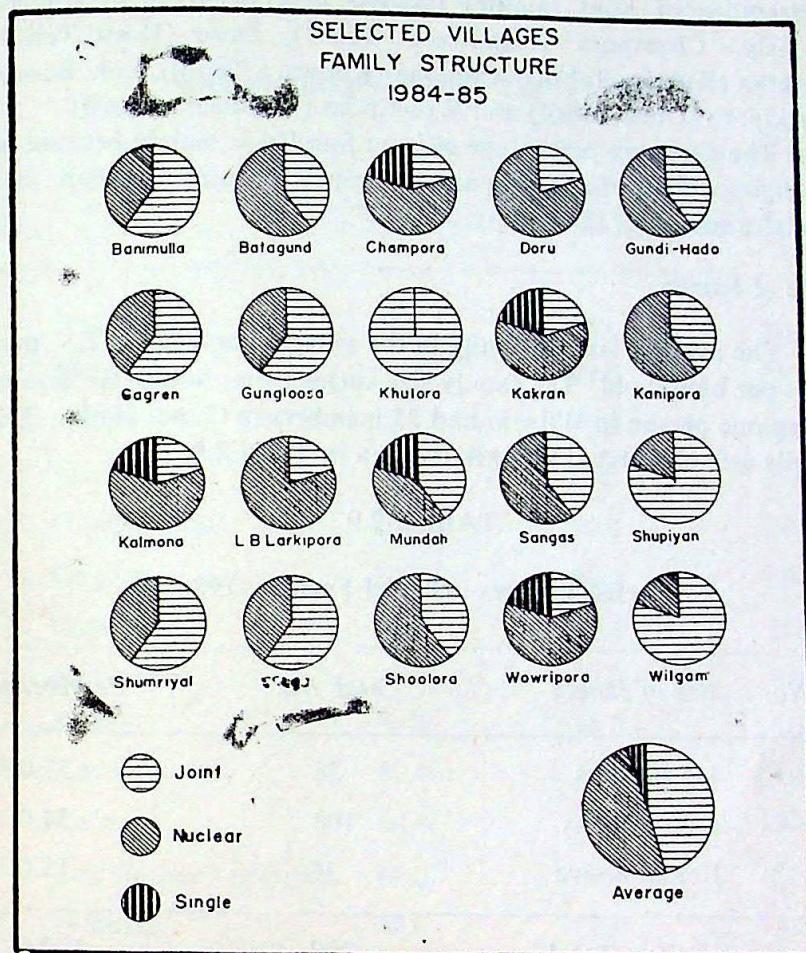


Fig. 2.4

Fig. 2.4

society which is still to be influenced by the modern values. The next highest percentage of joint families occurs in two villages, namely, Shupiyan (Shupiyan Tehsil) and Wilgam (Handwara Tehsil) where the percentage is 80. About 60 per cent of joint families are in five villages namely, Bani-Mulla (Kulgam Tehsil), Gagren (Shupiyan Tehsil), Gungloosa, Solina and Shumriyal (Kupwara Tehsil). Six villages have 40 per cent joint families. These villages, are, Bata-Gund (Doru Tehsil) Gundi-Hado, Kanipora (Shupiyan Tehsil), Mundah (Doru Tehsil), Shoolora (Kupwara Tehsil) and Sangas (Kulgam Tehsil). The lowest

percentage of joint families (20 per cent) occurs in six villages namely, Champora (Handwara Tehsil), Doru (Doru Tehsil) Kakran (Kulgam Tehsil), Kalmona (Kupwara Tehsil), Lok Bawan Larkipora (Doru Tehsil) and Wowripora (Handwara Tehsil).

The declining percentage of joint families is mainly because of changing values of societies and the impact of modernisation and transformation of the society.

Size of Family

The average size of family in the villages surveyed is 7.3 persons per household. The family size varies from house to house, being one person in Wilgam and 25 members in Gundi-Hado. The family size of selected villages is given in Table 2.9.

TABLE 2.9

Selected Villages—Size of Family—1984-85

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Size of family</i>	<i>Total No.</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1.	1-5 persons	56	21.0
2.	6-10 persons	108	54.0
3.	10 and above	36	18.0
	Total	200	100.0

Source : Field work by the authoress.

The Table 2.9 reveals that there is a high percentage (54) of medium sized families comprising 6 to 10 persons in the selected villages. 28 per cent families have a size of 1 to 5 persons, while 18 per cent families have 10 or more members in the households surveyed.

The distribution of families by size in the selected villages is given in Table 2.10.

An examination of Table 2.10 shows that in all the selected villages (excepting Gungloosa, Kakran, Kanipora, Kalmona,

TABLE 2.10

Selected Villages—Family Size—1984-85

S. No.	Villages	Percentage wise		
		1-5 persons	9-10 persons	10 & above
1.	Bani-Mulla	Nil	80.0	20.0
2.	Bata-Gund	20.0	60.0	20.0
3.	Champora	40.0	40.0	20.0
4.	Doru	60.0	20.0	20.0
5.	Gundi-Hado	20.0	60.0	20.0
6.	Gagren	20.0	60.0	20.0
7.	Gungloosa	Nil	100.0	Nil
8.	Khulora	Nil	60.0	40.0
9.	Kakran	20.0	80.0	Nil
10.	Kanipora	60.0	40.0	Nil
11.	Kalmona	60.0	40.0	Nil
12.	Lok Bawan Larkipora	40.0	40.0	20.0
13.	Mundah	40.0	20.0	40.0
14.	Sangas	40.0	40.0	20.0
15.	Shupiyan	Nil	60.0	40.0
16.	Shumriyal	40.0	60.0	Nil
17.	Solina	Nil	100.0	Nil
18.	Shoolora	40.0	40.0	20.0
19.	Wowripora	60.0	40.0	Nil
20.	Wilgam	Nil	80.0	20.0

Source : Field work by the authoress.

Shumriyal, Solina and Wowripora), the percentage of large sized families i.e., 10 or more persons is significantly high. In three villages, namely, Khulora, Mundah and Shupiyan as many as 40 per cent of the total families have more than 10 persons. Contrary to this the small sized families are relatively less in most of the villages excepting Doru, Kanipora, Kalmona and Wowripora. The causes for small size of families in these villages are not known which need further investigation.

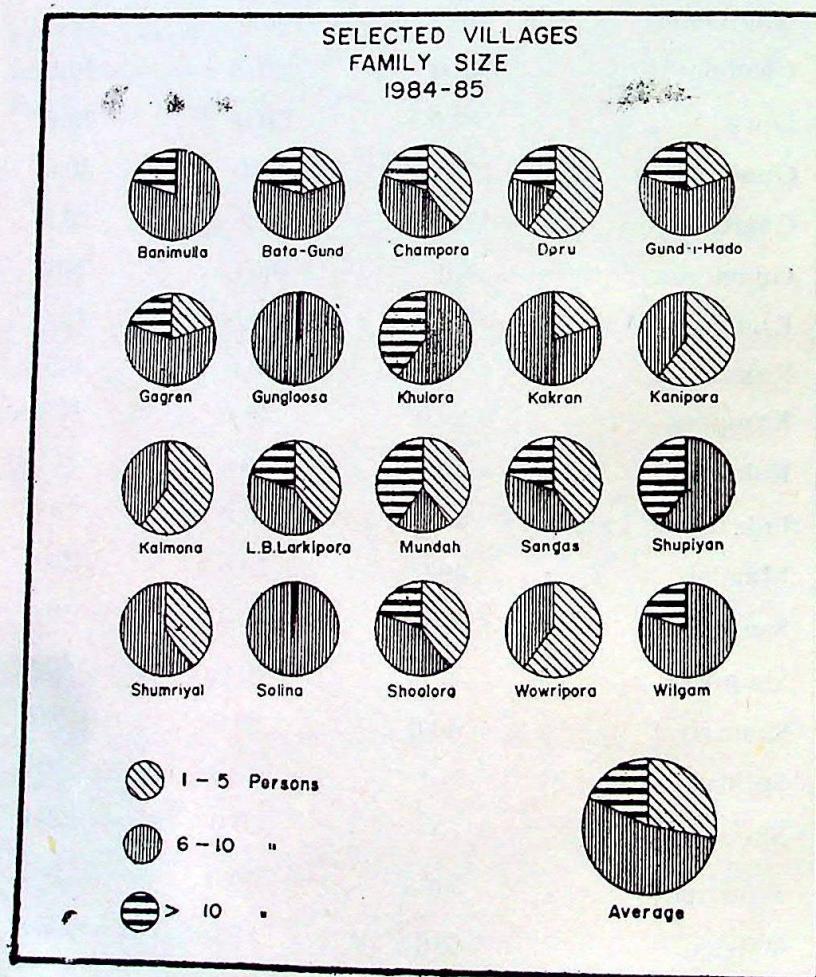


Fig. 2-5

Sex-ratio

Sex-ratio or sex composition is an important demographic characteristic of population. Sex is an easily identifiable and a basic characteristic or biological attribute of human population. It affects not only birth rate, death rate, literacy, work force but also the Social, political and economic structure of the social group. It also has a direct bearing on the birth rate, death rate, internal and international migration, marital status and manpower. Thus sex-ratio is an important attribute of population.

Sex-ratio is conveniently indicated in terms of females per 100 or 1000 males or vice versa. Indian census has shown the sex-ratio as number of females per thousand males.

In most of the countries males exceed females but there are isolated social groups in which females outnumber the males. Sex-ratio of a place is basically determined by these factors : (i) sex-ratio at birth, (ii) difference in the mortality rates of two sexes, and (iii) sex selectivity of migration.

The distribution of sex-ratio in the selected villages is given in Table 2.11.

An analysis of Table 2.11 reveals that the average sex-ratio of the sampled households is 855, which is above the national average of 836 but appreciably below the average sex-ratio in the Kashmir Division (879) and in the State (899). Victor Petrov who made an indepth study of Indian population arrived at the conclusion that the higher sex-ratio in favour of men in India does not mean their better conditions but the extremely poor conditions of women. The life of a woman in India is so hard that it results into their mortality, especially during their infancy and youth.¹⁷

The table 2.11 vividly shows that the sex-ratio varies between 750-1000. There are three villages namely, Champora, Doru and Kakran in which this ratio is more than 930 i.e., above the national average. In remaining seventeen villages the sex-ratio is surprisingly much below the national figure—ranging between 750-923. The low sex-ratio shows high death rate of female babies and the death of mothers due to inadequate care at the time of birth of babies and due to frequent child bearing. This statement is supplemented by the fact that the literacy rate among the females of rural Kashmir is significantly low being only 15% or

TABLE 2.11

Distribution of Sex-ratio in the Selected Villages 1984-85

<i>S.</i> <i>No.</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Sex-ratio per 1000</i>
1.	Bani-Mulla	833
2.	Beta-Gund	850
3.	Champora	1000
4.	Doru	937
5.	Gandi-Hado	786
6.	Gagren	850
7.	Gungloosa	815
8.	Khulora	763
9.	Kakran	933
10.	Kanipora	750
11.	Kalmona	857
12.	Lok Bawan Larkipora	882
13.	Mundah	780
14.	Sangas	902
15.	Shupiyan	923
16.	Shumriyal	895
17.	Solina	846
18.	Shoolora	805
19.	Wowripora	815
20.	Wilgam	880
<i>Average</i>		855

Source: Field work by the authoress.

below. In a tradition bound society of the region very little attention is being paid towards the health of females and consequently sex-ratio is higher in favour of males.

The female infant is definitely better equipped by nature for survival than the male, but in India the advantages she has at birth are probably neutralised in infancy by comparative neglect and later on by the strains of child bearing too early and too often.¹⁸ Certain biological reasons are also responsible for the uneven proportion of men and women, as a result of which more boys are born than girls. But today social factors are tremendously exerting influence especially in the rural areas in which the females are not properly looked after. This trend is tilting the balance in favour of males and the sex-ratio is thus highly skewed.

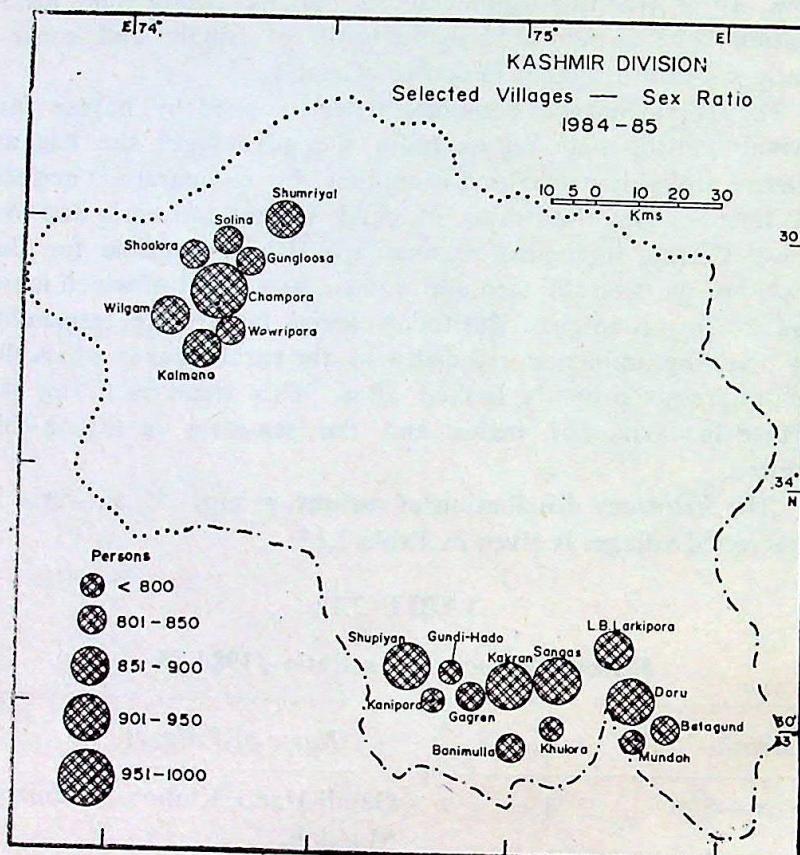
The frequency distribution of various groups of sex-ratio in the selected villages is given in Table 2.12.

TABLE 2.12
Selected Villages—Sex-Ratio—1984-85

<i>Sex-ratio</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Name of Villages</i>
Below—800	4	Gandi-Hado, Khulora, Kanipora Mundah.
801—850	7	Bani-Mulla, Bata-Gund, Gagren, Gungloosa, Solina, Shoolora, Wowripora.
851—900	4	Kalmona, Lok Bawan Larkipora, Shumriyal, Wilgam.
901—950	4	Doru, Kakran, Sangas, Shupiyan.
951—1000	1	Champora.

Source : Field work by the authoress.

An examination of the Table 2.12 clearly shows that in four villages (Gandi-Hado, Khulora, Kanipora and Mundah), the sex-ratio is very low i.e., below 800. This may be due to the ignorance, backwardness and prevailing social customs. Owing to the



inadequacy of hospitals, medical aids and trained *Dais* (Midwives), the mortality rate of females is significantly high. Traditionally a male baby is considered as an asset to the family while a female a liability in Kashmir, especially in rural areas. The parents pray for male babies while reverse is case with female babies.

Impressingly enough there is one village Champora in which there is high sex-ratio. This village is situated in Tehsil Handwara. It is not accessible by a metalled road. Most probably the youths outmigrate in search of employment and leave their families behind, resulting into high female ratio. Like other rural areas, people display an intensive desire to have male issues. Couples consider it absolutely necessary to have at least one male child.

Age Structure

Age is one of the primary demographic variables which has great social and cultural significance.¹⁹ It is the basic determinant of a nation's man-power supply and other characteristics of its population. The role and activities of an individual in a family and the community are deeply associated with the age, so it affects the all aspects of individual and community life—social attitudes, economic activities, political propensities, military service, mobility etc.

In a population age of the individuals vary from Zero to 100 and more years. Age is generally recorded in single year and a very commonly used system is the quinquennial age grouping which may be expressed as :

$$\sum_{i=0}^n A_i = \sum_{i=0}^4 A_i + \sum_{i=5}^9 A_i + \sum_{i=10}^{14} \dots + \sum_{x=n-4}^n A_i$$

A_i refers to the age of i years and n stands for highest recorded age or the nearest higher age under adjustment to quinquennial age grouping.

Age structure of a society, community or a nation can be studied by dividing the entire population into three broad age groups :

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| (i) The youthful group | (14 years or below) |
| (ii) The Adult group | (between 15-59 years) |
| (iii) The Aged group | (60 years and above) |

This is also known as trinomial structure of a population.²⁰

Economically, these age groups are also known as juvenile dependents (J), economically active workers (W) and Senile dependents (S).

$$\text{or } J = \sum_{i=0}^{14} A_i, W = \sum_{i=15}^{59} A_i, S = \sum_{i=60}^n A_i$$

The age structure of the selected villages is given in the Table 2.13.

TABLE 2.13

Selected Villages—Age Structure—1984-85

S. No.	Age group	No.	Male		Female		Total No.	Total percentage
			% age of total males	No.	% age of total	No.		
1.	0—14	267	33.9	265	39.5	532	36.4	
2.	15—59	435	55.1	363	54.1	798	54.7	
3.	59 and above	87	11.0	43	6.4	130	8.9	
	Total	789	100.0	671	100.0	1460	100.0	

Source : Field work by the authoress.

From the Table 2.13, it will be observed that 36.4 per cent of the total population is below 15 years of age and 8.9 per cent is above 60 years, that is 45.3 per cent of the total population is dependent which implies that each family has to look after 36.4 per cent population consisting of children below 15 years and about 9 per cent of 60 and above. This age structure is typical of all under-developed countries. They are poor but they have to spend a large part of their resources in looking after over two fifths of the population which consists of children.

The poorer the nation, the larger the proportion of children it has to look after. Poverty is generally found to be associated with high birth rates of population growth. On the contrary the more prosperous the nation, the smaller the proportion of children it has to look after because affluence is generally found to bring about appreciable reduction in birth rates. This is a tragic social paradox.²¹

The frequency of various age groups of villages surveyed is given in Table 2.14.

TABLE 2.14
Selected Villages—Frequencywise age structure—1984-85

<i>Age group</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Cumulative frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
0—4	205	205	14.0
5—9	184	389	12.6
10—14	143	532	9.8
15—19	125	657	8.6
20—24	112	769	7.7
25—29	108	877	7.4
30—34	90	967	6.2
35—39	85	1052	5.8
40—44	81	1133	5.5
45—49	78	1211	5.3
50—54	65	1276	4.4
55—59	54	1330	3.7
60 and above	130	1460	9.0
Average			100

Source : Field work by the authoress.

It may be seen from Table 2.14 that the proportion of babies of (0—4 years) is 14 per cent of the total surveyed population while that of the children in the age group of 5—14 is 22.4 per cent. This 22.4 per cent of the population the skill and talent of which needs to be sharpened by providing education and training. In case they could be trained in various handicrafts and technical jobs, they may prove as great assets to the poor and deprived people who outmigrate from Kashmir in search of jobs and employment.

In the five year age groups within the range of 15—59, there is a gradual decrease in the percentage of population (Table 2.14), which shows relatively high mortality and short longevity.

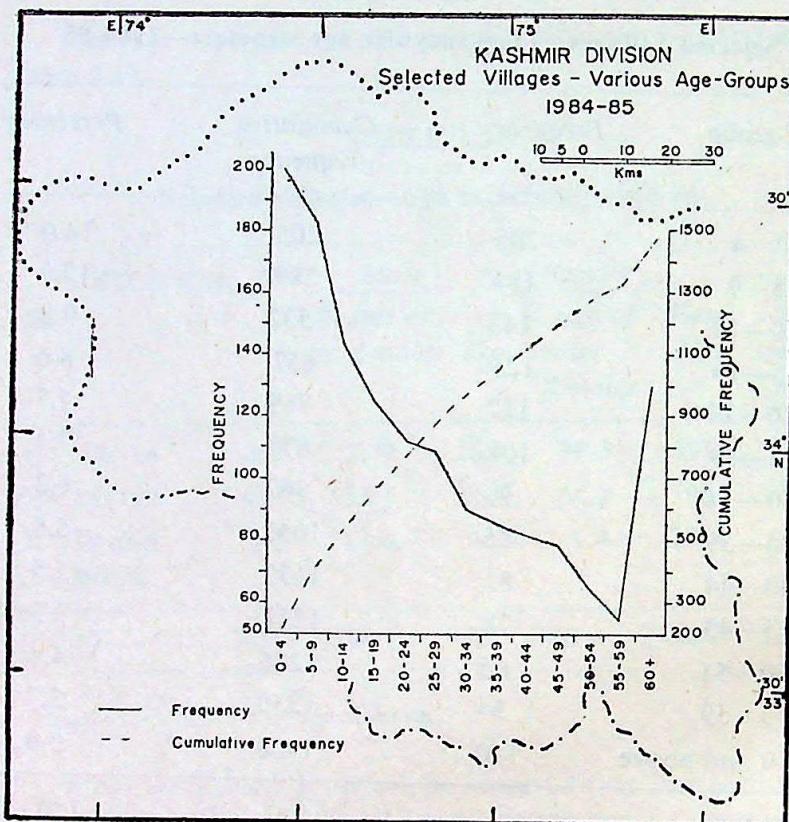


Fig. 2-7

Interestingly enough, there is 9 per cent of the population which is over 60 years of age. This percentage is slightly over to that of national average. This high percentage is partly due to the longer span i.e. above 60 years and partly due to less polluted environmental conditions in which the people have high longevity.

The composite picture of the male-female age groups is given in the Table 2.15.

The Table 2.15 reveals that out of the total population under survey 36.4 per cent are below 14 years of age. In the age group of 0-4, the proportion of male and female population is identical being about 14 per cent each. But in the age group of 5-14 years, females outnumber males in which 22.5 per cent are females and 19.8 per cent males. It shows that the female mortality in this age group is less as compared to males.

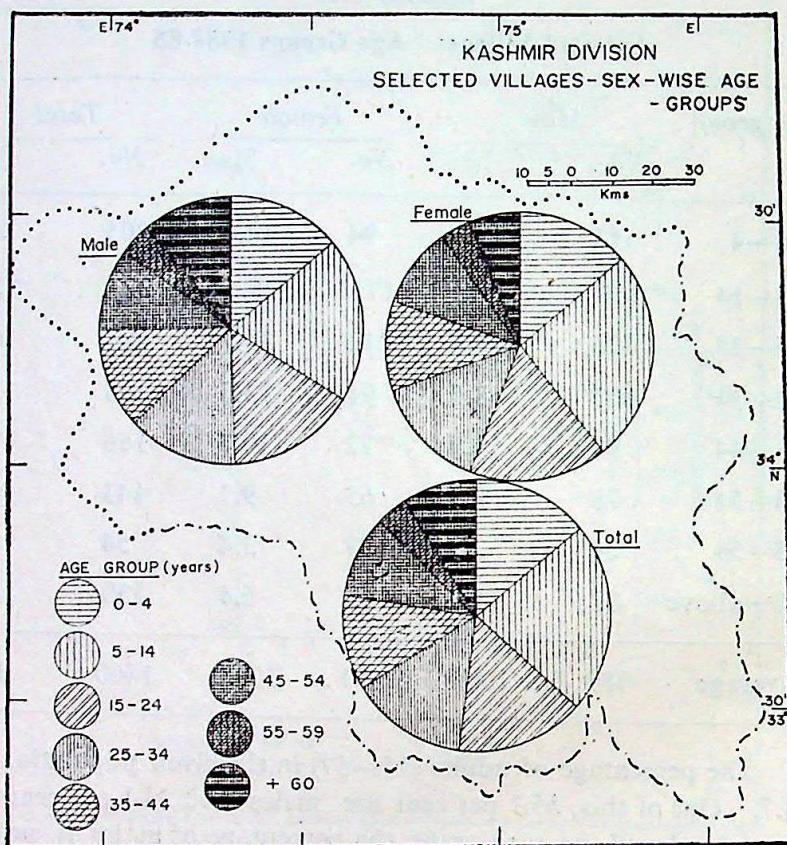
TABLE 2.15
Selected Villages—Age Groups 1984-85

<i>Age group</i>	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
0—4	111	14.1	94	14.0	205	14.0
5—14	156	19.8	171	25.5	327	22.4
15—24	125	15.8	112	16.7	237	16.2
25—34	107	13.6	91	13.6	198	13.6
35—44	94	11.9	72	10.7	166	11.4
45—54	78	9.9	65	9.7	143	9.8
55—59	31	3.9	23	3.4	54	3.7
60—above	87	11.0	43	6.4	130	8.9
Average	789	100.0	671	100.0	1460	100

The percentage of adults (15—59) in the given population is 54.7. Out of this, 55.1 per cent are males and 54.1 per cent are females. In all the age groups, the percentage of males is nearly equal to the percentage of females except in the age group of 15—24, in which the percentage of females (16.7%) exceeds that of males (15.8%) whereas in the age group of 35—44, the percentage of males exceeds the percentage of females being 11.9 per cent and 10.7 per cent respectively. This category (adults) is the indicator of work force of the given villages, which shall be discussed in the subsequent paras.

The aged persons of 60 years and above form a small percentage of the population surveyed which is 8.9%. Here again the number of males is more than the number of females.

Although the average longevity is around fifty in the selected villages which is little below the national average of 54 though there are some individual cases in which the longevity is fairly high. For example, in Gungloosa village (Kupwara Tehsil) one woman was found to be 97 years old.



Dependancy Ratio

The 'dependency ratio' is based on the fact that every member of society is a consumer while some are producers. A country with a large proportion of its population producing is economically better off than a country with a smaller proportion of producers. It is generally a ratio of persons of relatively non-productive ages (i.e. below 14 years and above 60) to the persons of working age group (15-59). A high total dependency ratio always means that a longer proportion of population is under 15 years of age. When the median age increases, the youth dependency ratio decreases and the aged dependency ratio increases. There is an inverse relationship between the median age and dependency ratio. As the median age increases, the total

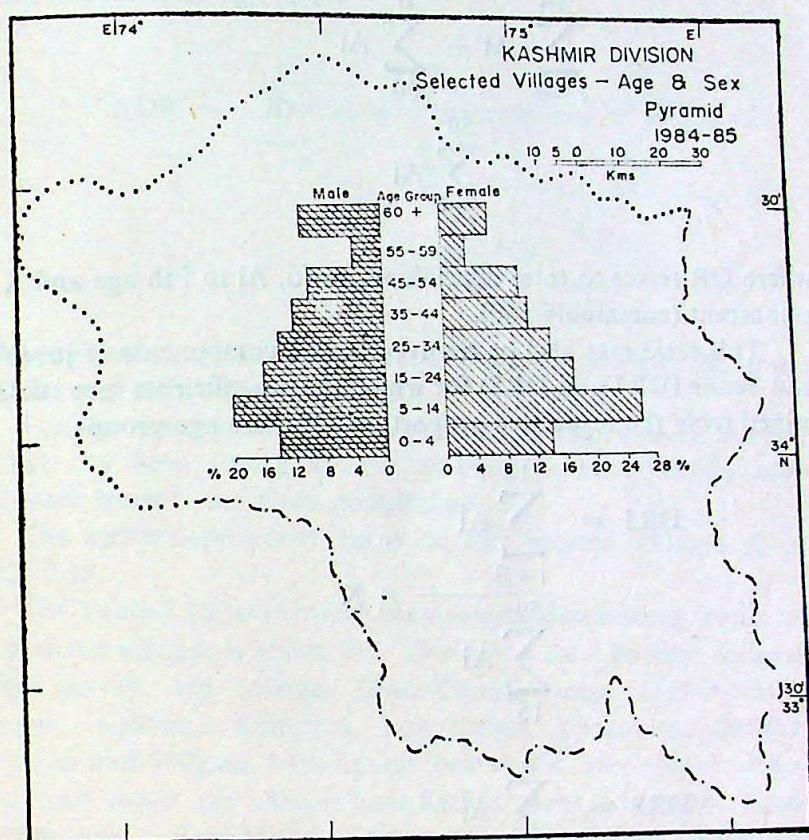


Fig. 28 (b)

dependency ratio decreases. When the society becomes highly industrialized the median age increases and the youth dependency ratio decreases. The under developed countries which are putting all their efforts to increase production and the level of living are burdened with the total dependency ratios indicating their low levels of living. Since the under developed countries have high fertility, the youth dependency ratio is heavy and this makes it difficult, if not impossible to improve their living condition.²²

The total dependency ratio is simply the algebraic sum of the youth dependency ratio and the aged dependency ratio.

$$DR = \frac{\sum_{i=0}^{14} Ai + \sum_{i=60}^n Ai}{\sum_{i=15}^{59} Ai} \times K$$

where DR refers to total dependency ratio, A_i to i th age and K is a constant (commonly 100).

This ratio may also be resolved in two components of juvenile and Senile (DRJ and DRS) for which the co-efficients are determined from the respective proportions of these age groups.

$$DRJ = \frac{\sum_{i=0}^{14} Ai}{\sum_{i=15}^{59} Ai} \times K$$

$$DRS = \frac{\sum_{i=60}^n Ai}{\sum_{i=15}^{59} Ai} \times K$$

$$DRT = \frac{\sum_{i=0}^{14} Ai + \sum_{i=60}^{59} Ai}{\sum_{i=15}^{59} Ai} \times K$$

This gives us the total dependency burden in a population but the economists seek the ratio of consuming units and producing units

in order to understand the actual dependency burden in a population irrespective of age slabs.²³

$$ADB = \frac{\sum_{i=0}^{14} Ai + \sum_{n=60}^n Ai + Nw \sum_{15}^{59} Ai}{\sum_{15}^{59} Ai - Nw \sum_{15}^{59} Ai} \times K$$

ADB denotes the actual dependency burden and Nw the non-workers and K is constant (i.e. 100)

For the present study also the actual dependency burden (ADB) has been found in order to know the actual dependency and work force in the given population.

The actual dependency ratio of the selected villages is in Table 2.16.

The Table 2.16 reveals that the average dependency ratio of the selected villages is about 191. Out of the total twenty villages under survey, ten villages (Bata-Gund, Doru, Gundi-Hado, Gagren, Kakran, Kanipora, Lok Bawan Larkipora, Sangas, Shupiyan and Wilgam, have figures below the mean dependency ratio and other ten villages have figures above this mean. These villages are : Bani-Mulla, Champora, Gungloosa, Kalmona, Khulora, Mundah, Shumriyal, Solina, Shoolora and Wowripora.

The highest dependency ratio (246.0) is in village Shoolora and the lowest (134.7) is in the village Gagren (Tehsil Shupiyan). The high dependency ratio is mainly due to the non-availability of job opportunities, illiteracy, large sized families and unskilled people. The low dependency ratio is mainly due to the availability of job opportunities, small sized families, literacy and awareness of the people.

Fertility

Fertility is the actual number of births or the number of children born by a woman. In the words of Lewis Thompson, "Fertility is the actual reproductive performance of a woman or group of women".²⁴ Fertility has a central position in the study

TABLE 2.16

Selected Villages—Dependency Ratio—1984-85

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Dependency Ratio</i>
1.	Bani-Mulla	220.5
2.	Bata-Gund	171.0
3.	Champora	233.3
4.	Doru	175.5
5.	Gungloosa	212.5
6.	Gundi-Hado	151.9
7.	Gagren	134.7
8.	Kalmona	216.5
9.	Khulora	206.7
10.	Kakran	166.0
11.	Kanipora	137.5
12.	Lok Bawan Larkipora	181.7
13.	Mundah	221.5
14.	Sangas	175.5
15.	Shupiyan	138.1
16.	Shumriyal	210.5
17.	Solina	246.0
18.	Shoolora	246.0
19.	Wowripora	208.2
20.	Wilgam	185.7
<hr/>		
<hr/>		Average
<hr/>		191.4

Source : Field work by the authoress.

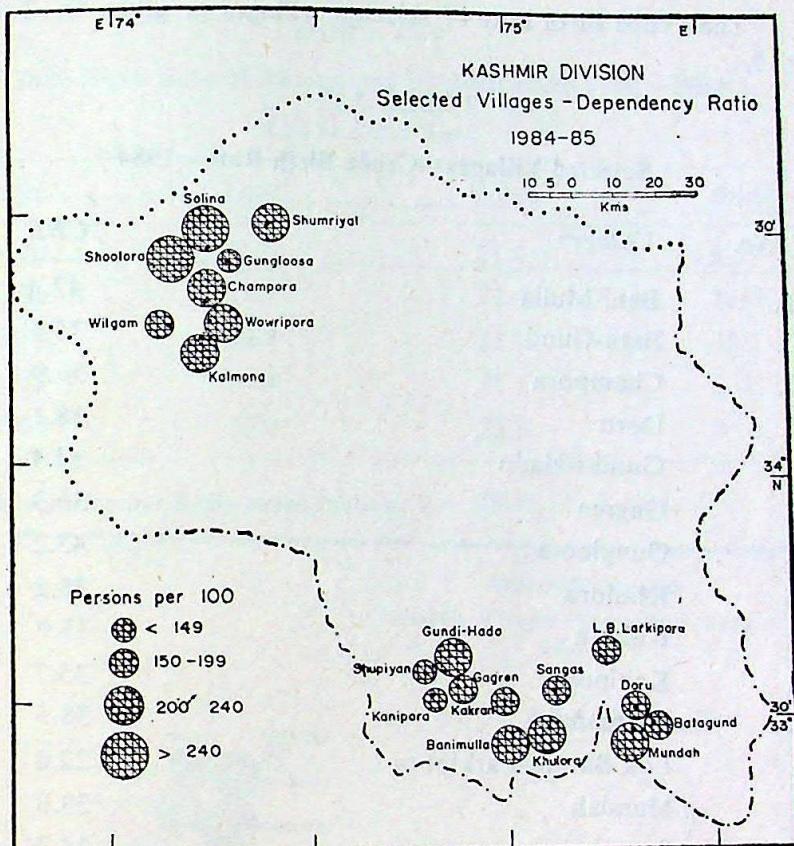


Fig. 2.9

of population pattern as the growth in number entirely depends on human fertility. It is a positive force which increases population and thus affects the overall population size.

Fertility is directly influenced by social, economic, biological, climatic and hereditary factors. The common index of fertility rate is the Crude Birth Rate (CBR) which may be worked out with the help of the following formula :

$$\text{CBR} = \frac{B}{P} \times K$$

Where CBR = Crude Birth Rate

B = Total number of births during one year

P = Total population at the middle of the same year.

K = Constant, i.e., 1000.

The Crude Birth Rate of selected villages is given in Table 2.17.

TABLE 2.17

Selected Villages—Crude Birth Rate—1984

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Villages</i>	<i>CBR</i>
1.	Bani-Mulla	42.4
2.	Bata-Gund	35.1
3.	Champora	56.9
4.	Doru	18.1
5.	Gund-i-Hado	32.4
6.	Gagren	36.3
7.	Gungloosa	43.2
8.	Khulora	38.2
9.	Kakran	37.9
10.	Kanipora	35.7
11.	Kalmona	38.5
12.	Lok Bawan Larkipora	22.0
13.	Mundah	39.0
14.	Sangas	34.2
15.	Shupiyan	25.0
16.	Shumriyal	23.3
17.	Solina	35.1
18.	Shoolora	40.5
19.	Wowripora	41.7
20.	Wilgam	34.6
Average		35.0

Source : Field work by the authoress

The average Crude Birth Rate of Selected villages is fairly high. The crude birth rate figures for the entire state of Jammu and Kashmir, are given in Table 2.18 for comparison.

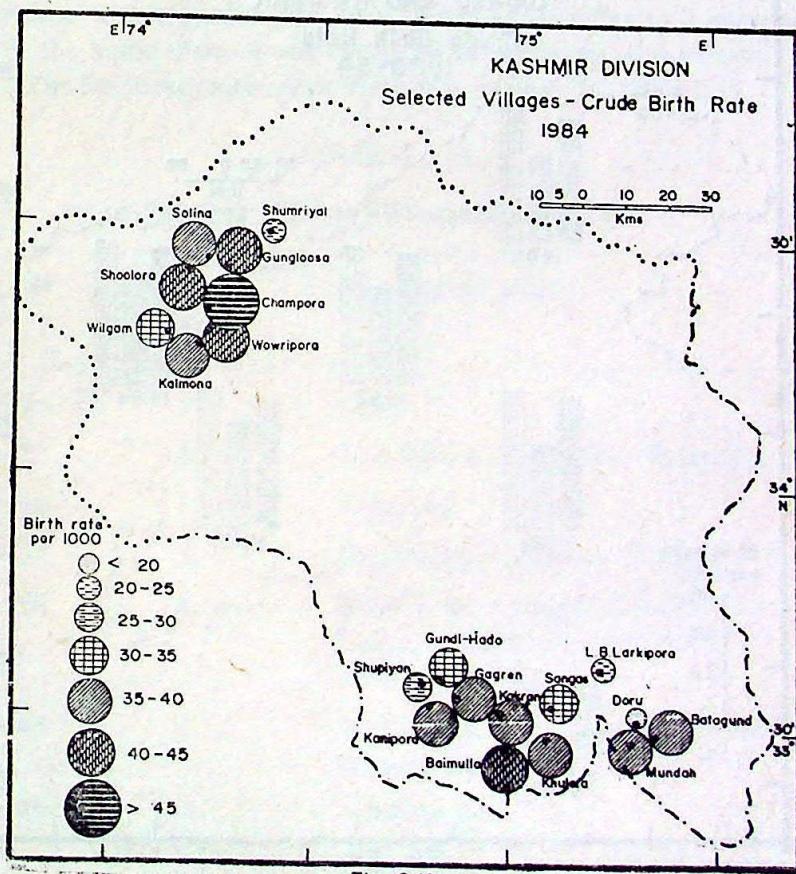
TABLE 2.18

Crude Birth Rate of Jammu and Kashmir State 1980—1984

Crude Birth Rate

Years	Total	Urban	Rural
1980	31.3	21.4	33.5
1981	31.6	21.4	33.9
1982	30.7	22.8	33.2
1983	31.4	25.2	33.2
1984	33.0	25.8	35.0

Source : Sample Registration Bulletin, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, 1984.



An examination of Table 2.17 and 2.18 reveals that the average crude birth rate in selected villages for 1984 (35.0 per thousand per annum) is much higher to the State average (33.0) for the year. There are inter-village and intra-village variations in the crude birth rate, depending upon the size of the family, literacy and economic conditions. It has been found that birth rate is relatively high in large sized families. It is evident from Table 2.18 that highest crude birth rate (46.9) is in village Champora (Kupwara Distt.). The highest birth rate of Champora may be attributed to several factors. Its isolated location has kept it away from the influence of modern ideas. Consequently, the society is

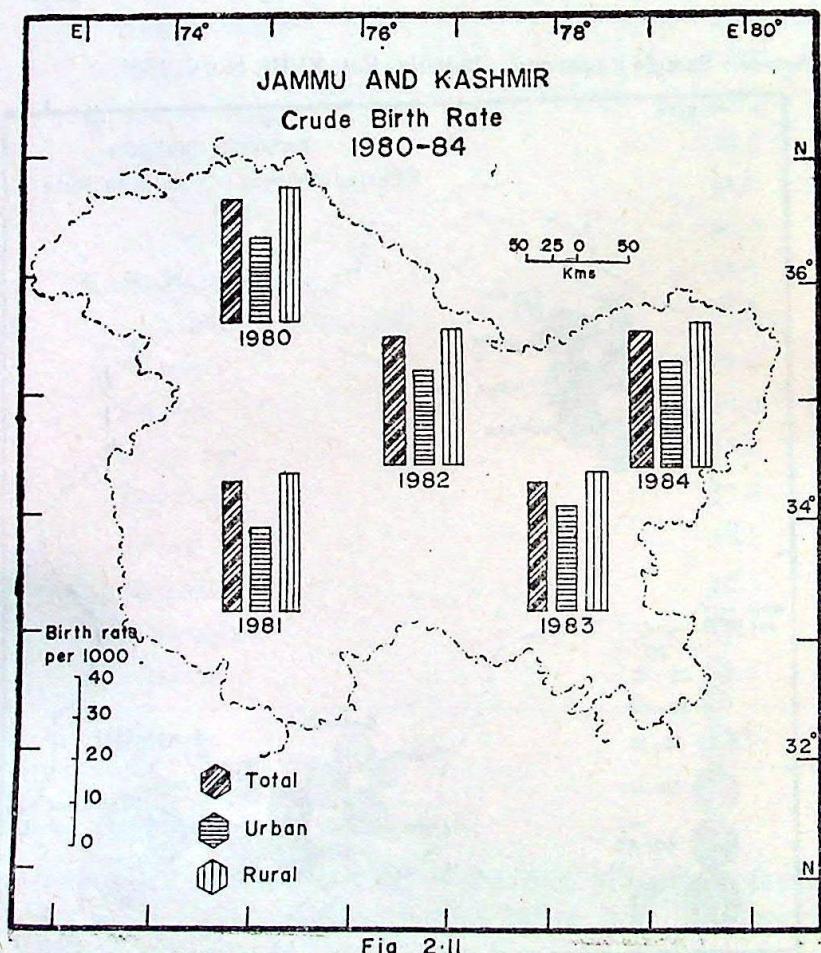


Fig. 2.11

traditional in which child marriage is a common phenomenon. The local adage given below show the orthodoxy of the people.

“Baji Kori Hindi Aathi Cha Trash Haram”

This popular Kashmiri proverb says that it is a sin to drink water offered by a mature unmarried girl. Though this proverb has lost its significance in urban Kashmir but it is still popular in rural areas. A very low standard of living is another contributory factor. The area lacks educational and medical facilities.

On the other hand low birth rate of Doru (18.1) is because of the impact of modernisation and urbanisation. The presence of primary health unit, a higher secondary school and other amenities including employment opportunities had made people aware of limiting the size of their families. The town had received special attention with regard to the developmental activities as it happens to be the home town of one of the Chief Ministers of the State.

The frequencywise crude birth rate is given in Table 2.19.

TABLE 2.19
Selected Villages—Frequencywise CBR

<i>CBR</i>	<i>No. of villages</i>	<i>Name of the villages</i>
Below—20	1	Doru
20—25	2	Lok Bawan Larkipora, Shumriyal
25—30	1	Shupiyan
30—35	3	Gundi-Hado; Sangas, Wilgam
35—40	8	Bata-Gund, Gagren, Kakran, Kalmona, Khulora, Kanipora, Mundah, Solina
40—45	4	Bani-Mulla, Gungloosa, Shoolora, Wowripora
45—above	1	Champora

Source : Field work by the authoress.

The Table 2.19 reveals that in three villages CBR is between 20-30. These villages are, Lok Bawan Larkipora (Doru Tehsil), Shumriyal (Kupwara Tehsil) and Shupiyan (Shupiyan Tehsil). This shows the better understanding and better living of people. Eleven villages fall between (30-40) birth rate. These villages are Bata-Gund, Gagren Gundi-Hado, Kakran, Kalmona, Khulora, Kanipora, Mundah, Solina, Sangas and Wilgam. In four villages, Bani-Mulla, Gungloosa, Shoolora and Wowripora, crude birth rate is between 40-45.

In order to get a more accurate picture, in fertility rate of selected villages has been calculated by General Fertility Rate Method also (GFR).

$$GFR = \frac{B}{P(15-49)} \times 1000$$

Where B = Total registered live births in 1984

P (15-49) = Mid year female population in the age group of 15-49.

K = Constant, i.e. 1000.

The General Fertility Rate of selected villages has been given in Table 2.20.

The Table 2.20 reveals that the general fertility rate of these Villages ranges between 241 and 100.

The highest general fertility rate is at Doru (241.00). This highest figure is because of more social amenities available. There are no marriages taking place below the age of 15. So the mothers are slightly mature and comparably healthy babies are born to them. All births are restricted to the fertile period from 15-49.

In Solina on the other hand, most of the marriages take place below the age of 15. So the births are divided between the age groups below 15 and above 15.

The general fertility rate for 20 villages comes to 189.3. Nine villages have general fertility rate above this average. These villages are Bani-Mulla (228.5), Bata-Gund (207.3), Doru (241.5), Gagren (200.0), Lok Bawan Larkipora (217.0), Mundah (215.0), Shupiyan (197.5), Shumriyal (194.1) and Shoolora (207.6). Whereas eleven villages have their GFR below the calculated average. These villages include, Champora (184.6), Gundi-Hado (132.3), Gungloosa (175.0), Kanipora (171.4), Kalmona (147.6), Khulora

TABLE 2.20

Selected Villages—General Fertility Rate—1984

S. No.	Villages	GFR
1.	Bani-Mulla	228.5
2.	Bata-Gund	207.3
3.	Champora	184.6
4.	Doru	241.5
5.	Gundi-Hado	132.3
6.	Gagren	200.0
7.	Gungloosa	175.0
8.	Khulora	163.6
9.	Kakran	185.7
10.	Kanipora	171.4
11.	Kalmona	147.6
12.	Lok Bawan Larkipora	217.0
13.	Mundah	215.0
14.	Sangas	171.4
15.	Shupiyan	197.5
16.	Shumriyal	194.1
17.	Solina	100.0
18.	Shoolora	207.6
19.	Wowripora	168.4
20.	Wilgam	177.7
Average		189.3

Source : Field work by the authoress.

(163.6), Kakran (185.7), Sangas (171.4), Solina (100.0), Wilgam (177.7) and Wowripora (168.4). The reason for the high and low

SELECTED VILLAGES
GENERAL FERTILITY RATE
1981

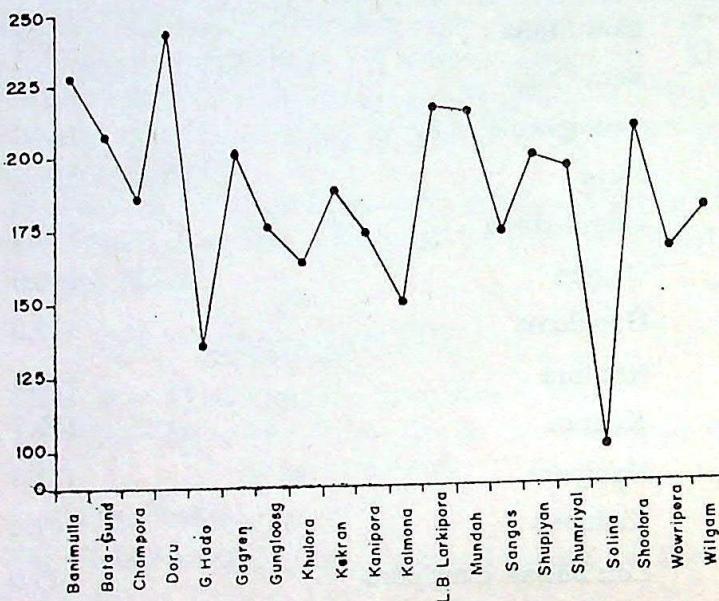


Fig. 2.12

GFR is the absence of live births below 15 and the exclusion of these births respectively.

Mortality

Mortality is a natural phenomenon which has a direct bearing on the rate of growth of population. It is affected by biological, socio-economic, cultural, environmental factors and by natural calamities. Mortality is also taken as an index of the prevailing conditions of a community from year to year.

Deaths as defined in the Registration of Birth and Death Act 1969 of India, is a permanent disappearance of all evidence of life at any time after live birth has taken place.²⁵ Death means permanent extinction of all signs of life from a human body after a birth has taken place. The process of death keeps the population of a given area in some sort of a balance. This happens even when

the population may be growing in numbers. If it were not there, human race would have swarmed the whole world long long ago and there would have not been available even standing space on our planet. Mortality also provides an index of state of health of the people.²⁶

The mortality rate varies according to sex and age, in different climates, among different races and in different occupations. It is an index of the resisting power of the community in times of economic distresses.

The mortality rate of selected villages has been shown by its most common index, Crude Death Rate (CDR).

$$\text{CDR} = \frac{D}{P} \times K$$

D = Deaths occurred in 1984

P = Mid year total population

K = Arbitrary number, 1000.

The crude death rate of selected households worked out with the help of the above formula is given in Table 2.21.

The average crude death rate of selected villages is also high.

In order to analyse the Table 2.21 it is desirable to have a comparison with the situation in the state as a whole. For this purpose death rates in the state are set out in Table 2.22.

An examination of Table 2.21 and 2.22 reveals that the average crude death rate in selected villages is 11.7 per thousand per annum. This is higher than the state average. The highest crude death rate of 16.6 is noticed in the village Solina and the lowest 8.0 in case of Doru. The availability of medical and other facilities accounts for the low crude death rate at Doru. The Location of Solina at the foot of the hill, away from the winds of the change and low standard of living accounts for the high death rate.

The entire data can be grouped into the following categories :

- (i) Low crude death rate (8-11)
- (ii) Average crude death rate (11-14)
- (iii) High crude death rate (14 above)

From Table 2.23, it is evident that the six villages belong to the first category and have a low crude death rate. The villages

are Bata-Gund (8.6), Doru (8.0), Sangas (10.3), Shupiyan (11.0), Shoolora (10.7) and Wilgam (9.1).

TABLE 2.21

Selected Villages—Crude Death Rate 1984

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Villages</i>	<i>Crude Death Rate</i>
1.	Bani-Mulla	12.2
2.	Bata-Gund	8.6
3.	Champora	11.3
4.	Doru	8.0
5.	Gundi-Hado	14.5
6.	Gagren	13.1
7.	Gungloosa	12.0
8.	Khulora	12.4
9.	Kakran	11.2
10.	Kanipora	11.5
11.	Kalmona	12.0
12.	Lok Bawan Larkipora	11.3
13.	Mundah	14.2
14.	Sangas	10.3
15.	Shupiyan	11.0
16.	Shumriyal	12.2
17.	Solina	16.6
18.	Shoolora	10.7
19.	Wowripora	13.5
20.	Wilmam	9.1
Average		11.7

Source : Field work by the authoress.

TABLE 2.22

**Crude Death Rate of Jammu and Kashmir State
1980 to 1984**

Year	Crude Death Rate		
	Total	Urban	Rural
1980	9.6	5.6	10.5
1981	9.0	6.0	9.7
1982	8.0	6.5	9.1
1983	8.6	6.8	9.1
1984	9.3	7.2	9.9

Source : Sample Registration Bulletin, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, 1984.

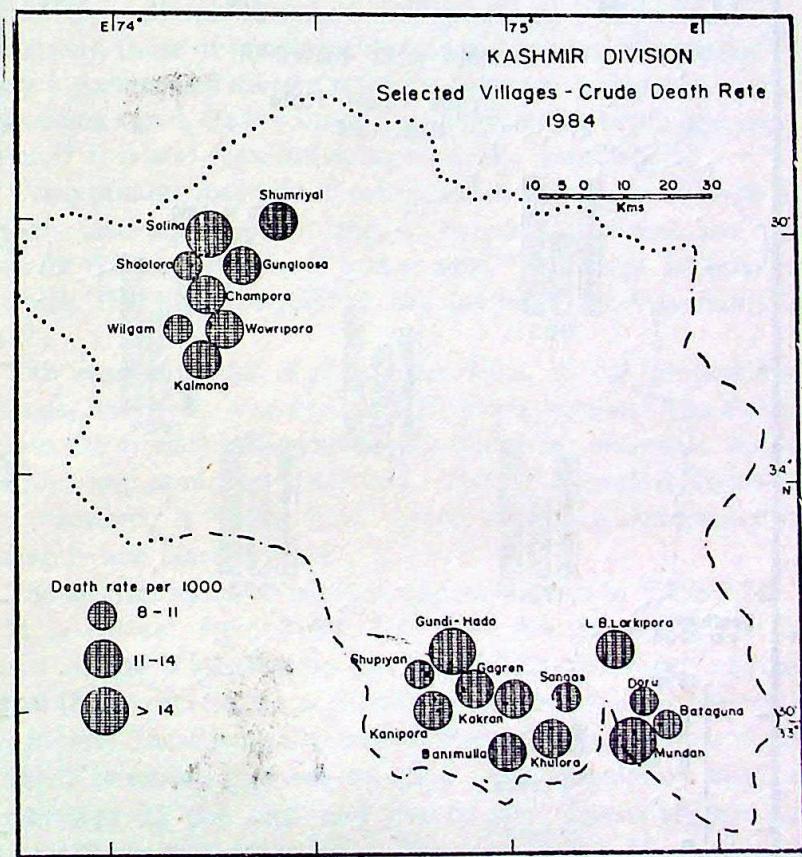
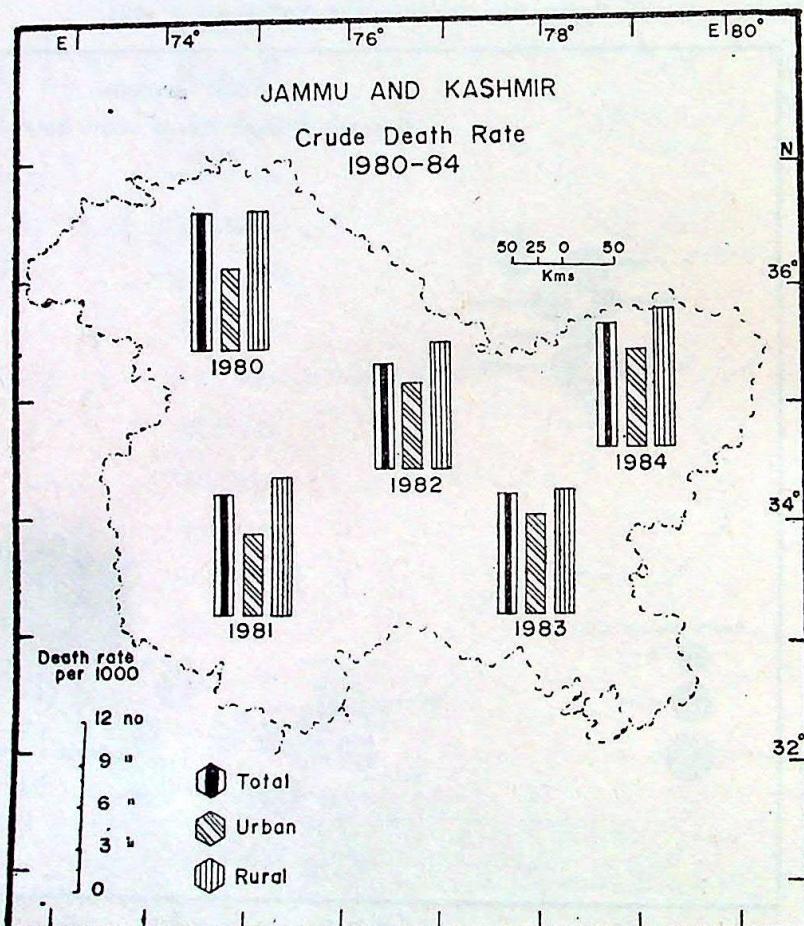


TABLE 2.23
Selected Villages—CDR

<i>Category CDR</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Name of villages</i>
(i) 8—11	6	Bata-Gund, Doru, Sangas, Shupiyan, Shoolora and Wilgam.
(ii) 11—14	11	Bani-Mulla, Champora, Gagren, Gungloosa, Khulora, Kakran, Kanipora, Kalmona, Lok Bawan Larkipora, Shumriyal Wilgam and Wowripora.
(iii) 14—above	3	Gundi-Hado, Mundah, Solina.

Source : Field work by the authoress.



Eleven villages have an average crude death rate of (11-14). In this category are the villages of Bani-Mulla (12.2), Champora (11.3), Gagren (13.1), Gungloosa (12.0), Khulora (12.4), Kakran (11.2), Kanipora (11.5), Kalmona (12.0), Lok Bawan Larkipora (11.3), Shumriyal (12.2) and Wowripora (13.5).

Three villages, Gundi-Hado (14.5), Mundah (14.2) and Solina (16.6) have a crude death rate of 14—16.6.

Marital Status

Marriage is a universal institution. Everyone except crippled, the imbecile, the incurably diseased and a few others not willing to marry, is married. It has existed ever since the beginning of human society with certain variations in different societies.²⁷ It has been accepted and recognised as a social institution and is affected by cultural variations. It creates a link between two populations, those of marriageable men and women, the chance of finding a partner and the age at which one marries depends, other things being equal, on the size of two populations which are confronted.²⁸ It is also regarded as an economic institution.

Conceptually, marriage is recognised as the basis of society. It is an institution which leads to the uplifted of man and is a means for the continuation of human race.²⁹ Marriage is the base on which the family structure and the birth of new generation rests.³⁰

The 'marital Status' of population refers to the proportions of single, married, widowed and divorced persons. These proportions are directly influenced by age-structure, sex-ratio, social institution and economic conditions. Thus the marital status is never constant, it varies from society to society, community to community and place to place.

The marital status of selected villages is given in Table 2.24.

It is evident from Table 2.24 that the marital status of selected villages is satisfactory with a very low percentage of unmarried (8 per cent) and a negligible percentage (i.e.=1 per cent) of bachelors. There is no divorced or separation case. An analysis of Table 2.24 reveals that out of total male population eligible for marriage 76 per cent and out of total females eligible for marriage 89 per cent are married. The percentage of unmarried males and females is 24 and 11 respectively. The persons who

TABLE 2.24
Selected Villages—Marital Status 1984-85

S. No.	Villages	Married	Un- married	Bachelor	Widow- ed	Divor- ced or Separ- ated
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Bani-Mulla	T 77.7 M 50.0 F 100.0	11.1 25.0 —	5.6 12.5 —	5.6 12.5 —	— — —
2.	Bata-Gund	T 72.3 M 62.5 F 80.0	16.6 25.0 10.0	— — —	11.1 12.5 10.0	— — —
3.	Champora	T 91.3 M 100.0 F 85.7	— — —	— — —	8.7 — 14.3	— — —
4.	Doru	T 60.0 M 60.0 F 60.0	20.0 20.0 20.0	10.0 10.0 —	10.0 10.0 20.0	— — —
5.	Gundi-Hado	T 91.4 M 81.8 F 100.0	4.3 9.1 —	— — —	4.3 9.1 —	— — —
6.	Gagren	T 90.7 M 88.2 F 93.3	6.2 5.9 6.7	— — —	3.1 5.9 —	— — —
7.	Gungloosa	T 88.0 M 75.0 F 100.0	— — —	— — —	12.0 25.0 —	— — —
8.	Khulora	T 92.3 M 90.9 F 93.3	7.7 9.1 6.7	— — —	— — —	— — —
9.	Kakran	T 83.3 M 75.0 F 90.0	— — —	5.6 12.5 —	11.1 12.5 10.0	— — —
10.	Kanipora	T 73.9 M 57.2 F 100.0	4.4 7.1 —	4.4 7.1 —	17.3 28.6 —	— — —

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	Kalmona	T 82.5 M 62.5 F 100.0	5.9 12.5 —	— — —	11.8 25.0 —	— — —
12.	Lok Bawan Larkipora	T 77.3 M 75.0 F 78.6	13.6 25.0 7.1	— — —	9.1 — 14.3	— — —
13.	Mundah	T 83.4 M 87.5 F 81.3	8.3 12.5 6.2	— — —	8.3 — 12.5	— — —
14.	Sangas	T 87.0 M 81.8 F 91.7	8.7 9.1 8.3	— — —	4.3 9.1 —	— — —
15.	Shupiyan	T 87.9 M 82.3 F 93.7	9.1 11.8 6.3	— — —	3.0 5.9 —	— — —
16.	Shumriyal	T 80.0 M 63.6 F 92.8	8.0 9.1 7.2	— — —	12.0 27.3 —	— — —
17.	Solina	T 88.2 M 71.4 F 100.0	5.9 14.3 —	— — —	5.9 14.3 —	— — —
18.	Shoolora	T 81.0 M 83.3 F 80.0	9.5 16.7 6.7	— — —	9.5 — 13.3	— — —
19.	Wowripora	T 83.3 M 71.4 F 91.0	11.1 14.3 9.0	— — —	5.6 14.3 —	— — —
20.	Wilgam	T 76.0 M 84.6 F 66.7	8.0 15.4 —	— — —	16.0 — 33.3	— — —
Average		T 82.9 M 76.0 F 88.7	7.8 11.2 4.8	0.9 2.0 —	8.4 10.8 6.5	— — —

Source : Field work by the authoress.

T = Total; M = Male; F = Female

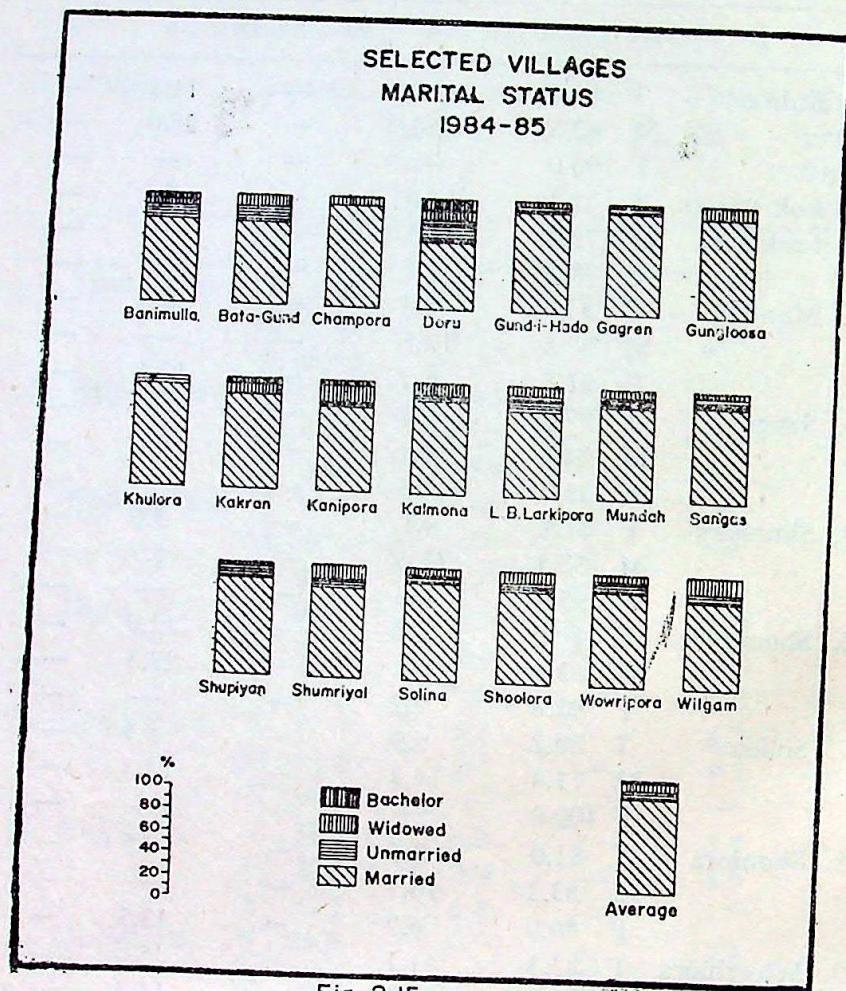


Fig 2.15

have lost their spouses are 10.8 per cent in the case of males and 6.5 per cent in the case of females. The majority of the eligible population is married and this accounts for 82.9 per cent. Only about 8 per cent of eligible population is unmarried. The one per cent bachelors consist of physically handicapped persons, who stand no chance for marriage. There are isolated cases in which a person is willing to marry but his economic status comes in the way as he may not be able to pay the bride money. The last group comprising of aged persons both male and female, who have married at one stage or the other but have lost their spouses.

In some cases they do not, while in other they cannot remarry because of the age, health, family responsibilities, property ownership and other economic constraints. The data given in Table 2.24 also reveal that there is no case of divorce or separation in the given population. Divorces in no case can be ruled out. The divorced persons are separated for a brief period and get soon remarried in other families. The decisions in this regard are taken by the elders in the village. It is because of the ignorance of *Shariyat* and absence of a qualified Qazi that the Islamic divorce laws are not strictly followed here. The amount to be paid in the form of *Mehr* (cash) is so small that this does not present any difficulty in the settlement of divorce cases.

As the literacy rate among the females is very low and they are not in a position to find any gainful employment, the authoress did not come across any case of eligible female unmarried. All eligible females stand married. In rural Kashmir it is common to find an eligible unmarried bachelor but no eligible female remains unmarried.

Age at Marriage

The age at which the males and females get marry is given in Table 2.25

TABLE 2.25
Selected Village—Sexwise age at marriage 1984-85

<i>Age at marriage</i>	<i>Male percentage</i>	<i>Female percentage</i>	<i>Total</i>
Below 14	1.9	4.1	3.0
14—16	9.0	31.5	20.2
17—19	30.3	52.0	41.3
20—22	31.6	11.0	21.3
23—25	21.3	1.4	11.3
25—above	5.9	—	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source : Field work by the authoress.

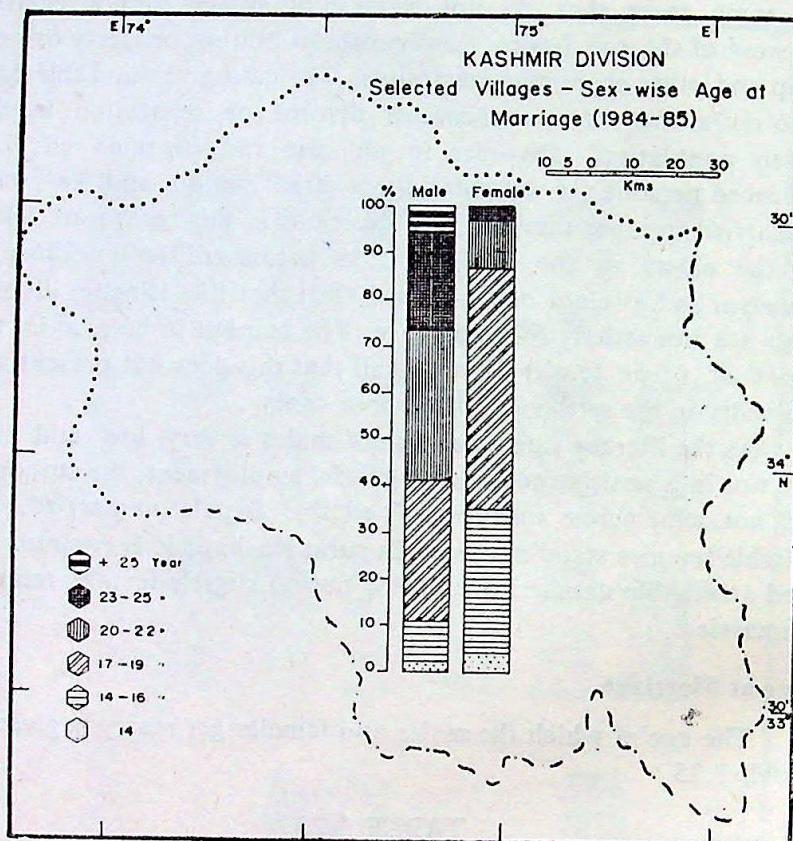


Fig. 2.16

Like all the underdeveloped societies, in the households surveyed all the marriages have taken place before the age of 27 in case of males and 25 in case of females. The economic conditions, social customs and the religious bindings prompt the parents to marry their daughters at an early age. A girl at the age of 19 is considered to be too grown up for marriage. According to the rural norms no sensible person would like to keep grown up daughter in his family. It has been observed that the process of marriage starts at a very early age and it takes some time for marriages to get settled. After the marriage of a daughter an average parent feels relieved thinking that his responsibility regarding the protection of his female child is over. It is for the husband or the in-laws to care for her. Morality in the strictest

sense particularly among the virgins is enforced. No family wants to get its reputation stained in this regard. Islam also provides for the marriage of a girl at an early age. Sometimes a family feels handicapped for want of females to run the household chores. The additional hand finds entry into the family through marriage. Marriage of a daughter fetches some money to the parents in the form of bride price in some socially backward areas.

There is a significant rise in the age at marriage in the second generation as the greater number of sons and daughters are marrying at a later age. This rise in the age at marriage seems to be due to the expansion of education resulting in change of expectatives and postponement of marriage till the completion of education, rising demand for dowery. But this phenomenon is visible among well to do classes and in urban and cosmopolitan areas. But in rural areas the age at marriage is found to be very low. Among the educated classes, the average age is higher.

It will be seen from the Table 2.25 that most of the marriages of females i.e., 83.5 per cent take place within the age group of 14-19. On the other hand the majority of males (83.2 per cent) get married within the age of 17-25. The girls below the age of 14 years outnumber the boys in the case marriage, the respective marriages being 4.1 and 1.9 per cent. No female is married when she has attained the age of more than 25 years. In case of males 5.9 per cent get married after crossing the age of 25 years.

A detailed account of age by sex at marriage in the selected villages is given in Table 2.26.

An analysis of Table 2.26 further shows that most of the marriages of females take place within the age group of 14-19 years while most of the boys marry at the age of 17-22 years (62%). In the villages situated in the far flung areas (Champora, Gungloosa) child marriage is still prevalent. Lack of education, poverty and conservatism may be considered as the main factors responsible for child marriages in these villages.

Outmigration and Caste System

Though Islam has no place for caste distinctions, but the Muslim population of Kashmir has remained divided into castes and sub-castes from ancient times. In Kashmir Division, the caste structure has a close bearing on the pattern of seasonal migration.

TABLE 2.26
Selected Villages—Age of Marriage—1984-85

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
13. Mundah	—	5.0	5.0	20.0	15.0	30.0	10.0	10.0	5.0	—	—	—	—
14. Sangas	—	—	—	15.0	20.0	25.0	10.0	10.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	—	—
15. Shupiyan	—	—	3.5	17.2	13.8	27.6	17.2	6.9	10.3	—	3.5	—	—
16. Shumriyal	—	—	5.0	25.0	15.0	40.0	10.0	—	5.0	—	—	—	—
17. Solina	—	6.6	6.6	20.0	13.4	40.0	13.4	—	—	—	—	—	—
18. Shoolora	—	5.9	—	29.4	5.9	35.2	11.8	—	11.8	—	—	—	—
19. Wowripora	—	6.7	6.7	20.0	6.7	40.0	13.3	—	6.6	—	—	—	—
20. Wilgam	—	—	—	15.8	10.5	15.8	26.3	10.5	15.8	—	5.3	—	—

Source : Field work by the authoress.

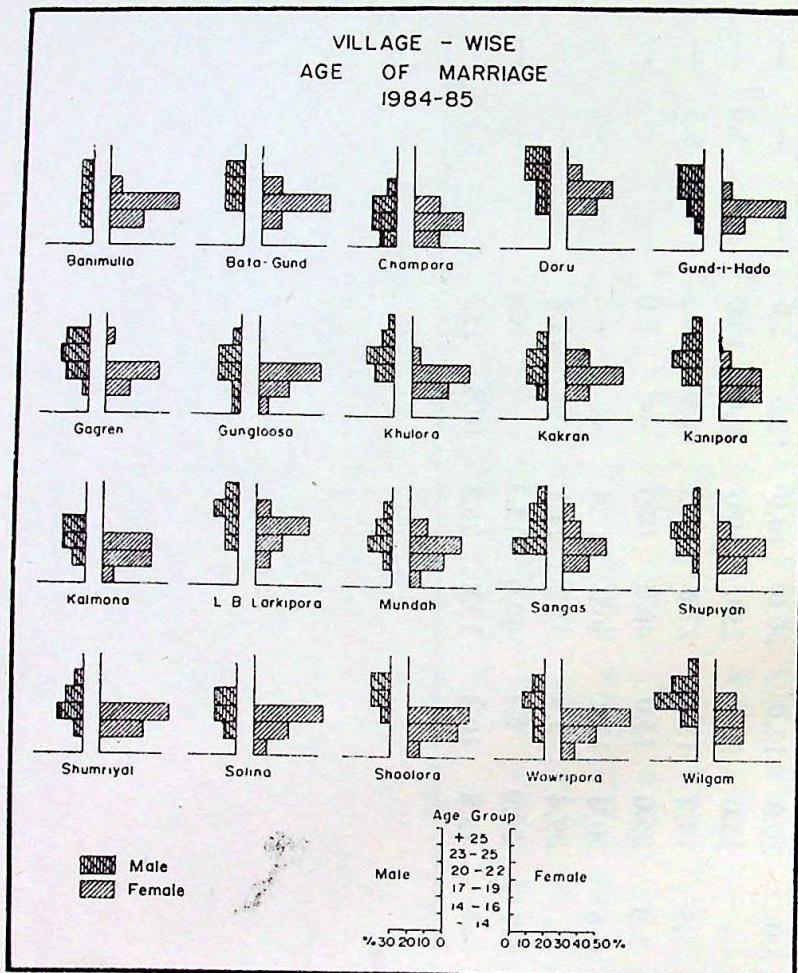


Fig 2 17

To establish this fact, information pertaining to the castes or *krams* of the migratory labourers was recorded in the questionnaire. The relationship between the people who migrate and their castes or *Krams* have been examined in the following paras.

According to the prevailing tradition the castes of the villages of Kashmir may be classified under the following categories :

- (i) Higher castes (Sayyids, Ulma, Pirs, etc.).
- (ii) Medium castes (Magres, Dars, Rathers, Thakurs, Nayaks, Mantus, Butt, Ganai, Mir Sheikh, Lone Kuchay etc.).

(iii) Lower castes (Wattals, Dums etc.)

It is interesting to note that the people of the upper castes are not tempted to outmigrate even during the adverse weather conditions while the people of other castes has a strong tendency to go out during winter season. The point may be established from the data given in Table 2.27.

TABLE 2.27
Selected Villages—Caste Structure – 1984-85

Seasonal migrants	Higher	Percentage (Medium)				
		Khan	Magray	Khanday	Lone	Malik
	2.0	6.0	6.0	1.0	3.0	8.0
	Meer	Nayak	Shah	Shiekh	Wagey	Bhat
	11.0	4.0	6.0	6.0	5.0	25.0
	Wani	Rather	Dar	Ganai	Kuchay	
	7.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	

Source : Field work by the authoress.

In 200 households under survey there are Sunni Muslim having 17 castes or *Krams*. But higher group accounts for only 2 per cent while 98 per cent belong to the Medium castes. The lower caste people like wattals (sweepers) Dums, Bands (Singers) etc. do their particular jobs in the villages and do not migrate during winters. Their number in each village is not much and they are helped by the well off people of the villages.

It is evident from Table 2.27 that the people who belong to the traditionally respectable castes or *krams* like Sayyids, Ulma, Pirzads etc. do not migrate as these people are socially, educationally and economically well established. They have maintained their better status at the cost of poor people as well as through the Government.

The castes or *krams* among Muslims at present are purely based on the economic well being. A 'Bhat' well placed in life can belong to a higher caste while another 'Bhat' with little economic standing may belong to lower caste.

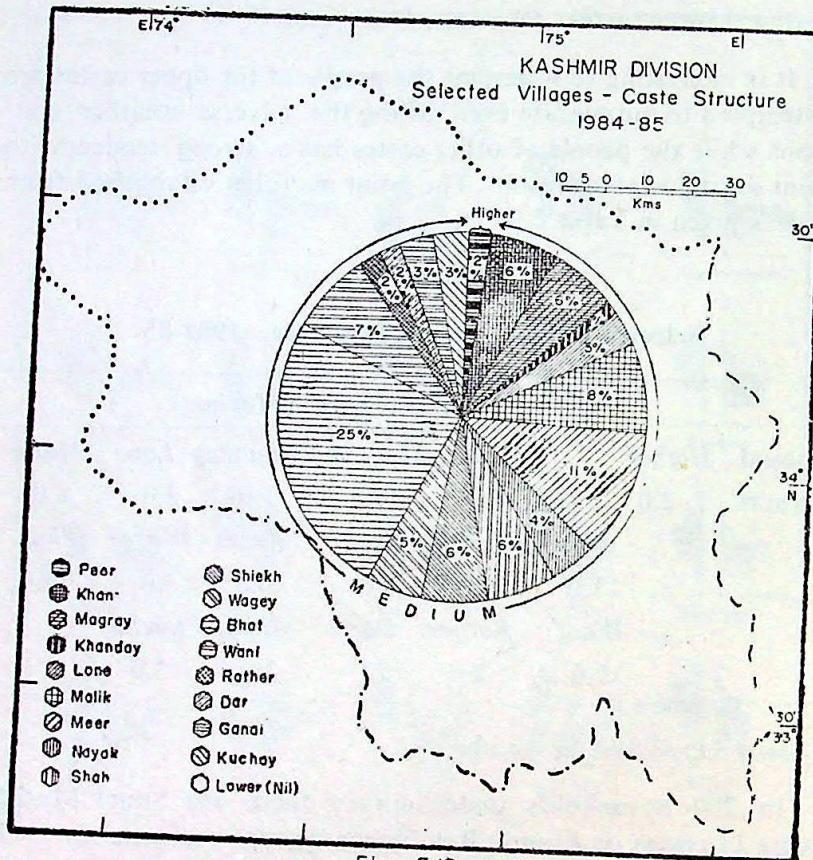


Fig. 218

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3

Economic Attributes

Labour is an important component of the spatial organisation of economic system. The successful organisation of the economic system and its growth and development, therefore, depend upon the available labour force in the region. The cultural, demographic and economic attributes of a population effect the structure, participation rate and other qualities of the labour force. The nature of the labour force is at the same time a function of level of economic development. The participation rate largely depends on the age composition, marital status and prevailing attitudes of the people towards women working outside the home. Moreover, the economic attributes of a group of people or society also have close bearing on the availability, skill and employment of labour force. In the present chapter an attempt has been made to examine the economic attributes of the labourers of Kashmir who migrate into the cities and towns of the Great Plains of India during winter season.

Economic attributes are the major determinants of seasonal migration of population in Kashmir. Unfortunately, the factors of production are not equally and judiciously distributed amongst the rural people. The number of family members in a family determine the size of land holding available per family. The law of inheritance is such that the moveable and immovable property of the deceased is equally distributed amongst the male members of the family. Owing to this law the size of fields and size of fields and size of holding becomes increasingly small with the next generation. During the course of field work, it has been observed that the landless labour and the marginal farmers tend to migrate in winter outside Kashmir than the medium and large sized farmers. In fact, the size of operational holding is largely responsible for the decision making of out migration of the Kashmiri

labour. An operational holding may be wholly owned and self operated or wholly leased in or partly owned and partly leased in. The definition of operation holding by the Food and Agriculture Organisation of United Nations includes all land operated irrespective of its location. This meant that the entire holding might be in the same village or might spread over more than one village. The size of holdings in Kashmir Division shows a close correspondence to the pressure of population and the proportion of the out migrations. As agriculture is the main stay of the population, the higher the density of population in a village, the greater is the percentage of marginal land-holdings and consequently the higher the proportion of out migrants.

Land Tenancy and Land Tenure

The immemorial tradition in Kashmir which treated all land as the property of rulers and those who cultivated its as his tenants, led to the creation of various intermediaries between the state and the cultivators.¹ The organisation of rural economy during the ancient period was directed towards the sole purpose of collecting revenue from the Tenants. Besides the share of the king, which increased with the passage of time, regardless of the increase in production, the cultivators had to pay other taxes for meeting the various expenses involved in administration and collection of land revenue. In addition, the system of levying Begar (forced labour) from the villagers was also instituted during this period.

During the Mughal period, large chakks of land were granted as *Jagirs* and *Muaffis* with property rights to those who carried favours with the kings. The Jagir was a free grant of one or more villages from the ruler to the grantees as a reward for some conspicuous service.² During the subsequent Afghan and Sikh rulers, the miseries of the cultivators increased further. The grant of land as *Jagir Mauffi* continued but without proprietary rights and large tracts of fertile land were reserved for royal households termed as *Khalis* which later assumed the corrupted nomenclature of '*Khalsa*'. This gradually led to large scale revenue farming of which the direct result was the imposition of a class of intermediaries between the cultivator and the state. The pattern of

land system existed before the pre-reform period may be summed as under :

During this period, the entire land belonged to the king and peasants did not possess either proprietary or occupancy rights. As long as a cultivator paid the rent, he was permitted to occupy the land. But he could neither sell nor mortage it. The rulers kept apart some of their land to meet the expenses of royal household through their *Kardar* (agent), such type of land was called *Khalsa land*. The rest of the territory was divided into military circle and granted to army chiefs, *Subedars* and *Taluqdars*. They inturn divided their grants into *Khalsa* and *Jagir* land and made these grants to their own favourites and dependents on the same terms they received it. This system was worked down more or less to a point where the grantees found it convenient to deal with cultivator directly. It produced a series of layers of landlords giving rise to superior and inferior landlords. After sometime a system of farming was adopted by which villages were leased to contractors called, *Farmers*, who made their own arrangements with the occupier of land.³

Thus landholding systems prevalent upto Pre-Reformation Period resulted in the development of landed aristocracy, absentee landlordism, the concentration of land among few etc. etc. The concentration of land in a few hands of absentee landlords coupled with subjugated and non-protected tenancy was both from economic and social point of view, a great danger. On the one hand, due to varied complications the number of self-cultivating peasants declined adding to the number of landless tillers. On the other hand, a handful of luxury loving people were grabbing the major portion of the produce of the toiling peasants. Of it, rack-renting, arbitrary and often forcible ejection by landlords, under utilization of cultivable land and stagnation of agriculture were the implied consequences.

It is admist this stagnation, unjust and exploitative agricultural organisation, that the State Government which was committed to the abolition of intermediaries redistribution of land, and protection of tillers from the parasitic hierarchy of intermediaries, in the policy document. 'New Kashmir' initiated various agrarian reforms in different phases after independence.

The reforms and laws which Government enacted from time to time have nearly freed the peasantry from the bondages of institutional depressors more or less. Equitable land was made possible and therefore, have ejected the elements of dynamic growth in the agrarian setting of Jammu and Kashmir.⁴

To get an accurate picture of holding an attempt has been made to present the land cultivation of the pre-reform and the post-reform period.

TABLE 3.1
Concentration of land ownership in 1949-50 and 1962

Extent of holding	1949-50		1962	
	Number	Area in Acres/%	Number	Area in Acres/%
1. Large holdings (more than $22\frac{3}{4}$ acres)	8989	662982 26.8%	6184	341037 13.2%
2. Medium Holdings ($12\frac{1}{2}$ — $22\frac{3}{4}$ acres)	14011	158557 6.5%	18979	312610 12.2%
3. Small holdings (less than $12\frac{1}{2}$ acres)	896212	1649421 66.7%	1127117	1920959 74.6%

Source : Land Commission Report, p. 29.

The Table 3.1 clearly reveals that the holdings in the State have been sub-divided at a much faster rate from one decade to another. This is a positive trend in which number of large landholders is abolishing. In 1949-50, the number of large landholders (i.e. having more than $22\frac{3}{4}$ acres) was 8989 whereas in 1962 it was only 6184. This shows a decrease in number. In the second category (medium holdings), the number of owners has increased satisfactorily from 14011 to 18979. In the case of small holdings (less than $12\frac{1}{2}$ acres), the number of owners has increased tremendously. This clearly shows the positive impact of land reforms, abolishment of landlordism and aristocracy.

It is also clear from the Table 3.1 that while owners were congested in the lower group, land was concentrated in the higher group. This picture a perceptible change as a consequence of the implementation of reforms. Such changes in the agriculture sector are essential both for social and political stability. A more detailed picture of holdings has been given in Table 3.2.

TABLE 3.2
Number of holdings by classwise

Category	Size class	1971-72		1981-82	
		No. of holdings	Percentage	No. of holdings	Percentage
1. Small marginal	Below 5 acres	867174	88.60	124516	95.72
2. Semi medium	5—10 acres	86171	8.50	4902	3.77
3. Medium	10—24 acres	24148	2.47	646	0.50
4. Large	24 and above	1173	0.13	20	0.01
Total		978666	100.00	130084	100.00

Source : Agriculture census 1976-77 and Statistics Digest 1983-84, p. 40.

The figures of Table 3.2 support the fact that the number of large holdings is decreasing while the number of small holdings is increasing. Though it is a sort of positive distribution and abolition of landlordism but the number of medium holdings is very less. Majority of the farmers have holdings less than one acres so they cannot make their living from land alone.

The Tehsil wise data given by census indicates that 55.7 per cent of the total holdings in Kashmir division are of the size of less than 5 *kanals* (5/8 acres). Thus, in Kashmir province a vast majority of cultivators cannot eke out their basic subsistence from land because the maximum income per year from small holdings

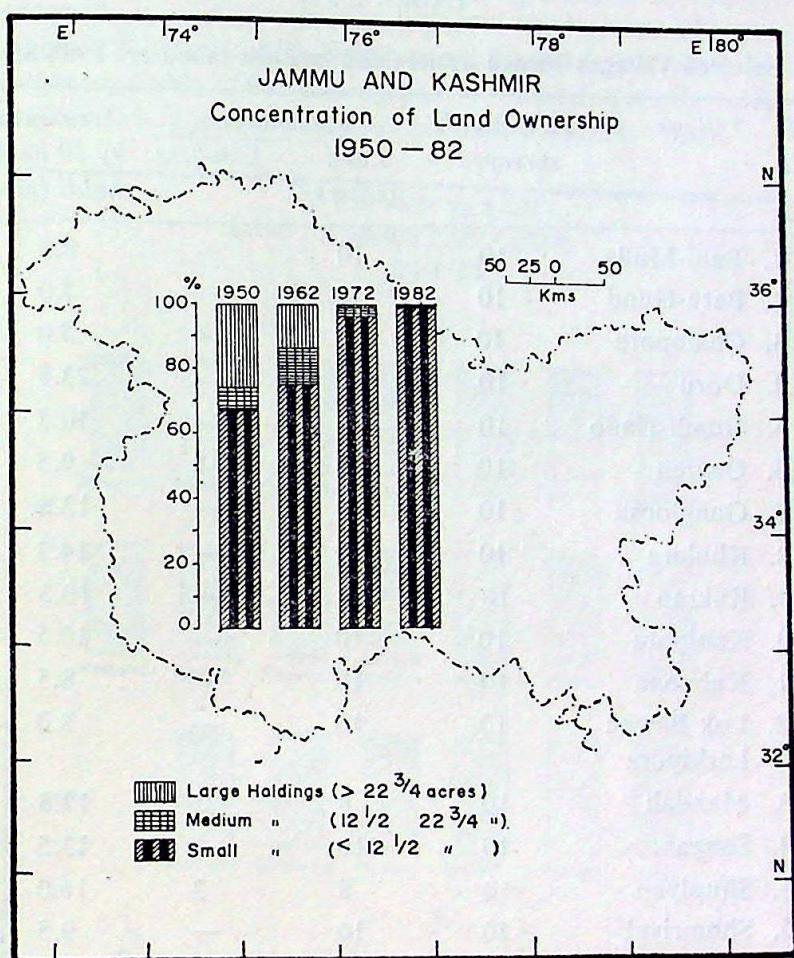


Fig 3-1

as per census estimates can at best be Rs. 700 per annum. This gives a per capita income of Rs. 20 per month (If a family size is assumed to be three per holding) which is far less than basic minimum need of Rs. 77 per month as indicated in the State Draft Sixth Five Year Plan.

Land tenancy pattern of sample villages is given in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 reveals that out of the total 200 households only 12 (6%) are landless and 188 (94%) are land owners. The land owners however, fall in the small farmers category. The landless labourers work as agriculture workers during summer season

TABLE 3.3

Selected Villages—Land owners and landless labourers 1984-85

S. No.	Village	Households surveyed	Percentage		Area owned by 10 house- holds (acres)
			Land owners	Landless	
1.	Bani-Mulla	10	10	—	8.0
2.	Bata-Gund	10	10	—	8.0
3.	Champora	10	6	4	5.0
4.	Doru	10	10	—	23.8
5.	Gundi-Hado	10	10	—	10.5
6.	Gagren	10	8	2	9.5
7.	Gungloosa	10	10	—	13.8
8.	Khulora	10	10	—	14.3
9.	Kakran	10	10	—	10.3
10.	Kanipora	10	10	—	10.5
11.	Kalmona	10	10	—	8.5
12.	Lok Bawan Larkipora	10	10	—	8.0
13.	Mandah	10	8	2	12.8
14.	Sangas	10	10	—	13.5
15.	Shupiyan	10	8	2	16.0
16.	Shumriyal	10	10	—	9.5
17.	Solina	10	8	2	8.8
18.	Shoolora	10	10	—	9.8
19.	Wowripora	10	10	—	6.8
20.	Wilgam	10	10	—	23.5
Total		200	188	12	226.4

Source : Field work by the authoress.

within the Kashmir Division or outside, while they outmigrate during winter season. Moreover, the small farmers also outmigrate during winters in search of employment as they remain

idle during the snowy winters and their agricultural income is not adequate to provide them subsistence throughout the year. A more vivid picture of the land ownership may be ascertained if a frequency Table of the holding size is worked out. In order to achieve this objective Table 3.4 has been prepared.

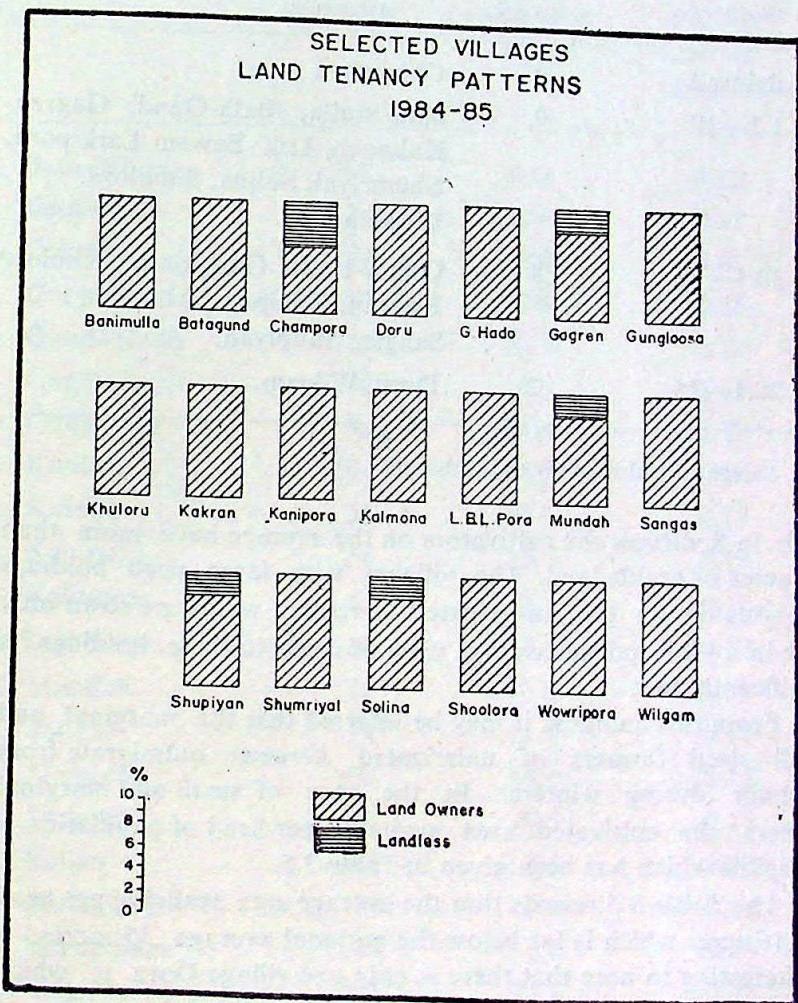


Fig 3.2(a)

Table 3.4 clearly reveals that most of the households surveyed have very small sized holdings. There are 10 villages in which the average size of holdings is less than 10 acres, while in Champora village the average size of holding is less than one acre of arable

TABLE 3.4

Selected Villages—Average size of holding 1984-85

<i>Size of holding in acres</i>		<i>Villages</i>
Below 1	1	Champora
1.1—10	9	Bani-Mulla, Bata-Gund, Gagren, Kalmona, Lok Bawan Larkipora, Shumriyal, Solina, Shoolora. Wowripora.
10.1—20	8	Gundi-Hado, Gungloosa, Khulora, Kakran, Kanipora, Mundah, Sangas, Shupiyan.
20.1—25	2	Doru, Wilgam.

Source : Field work by the authoress.

land. In 8 villages the cultivators on the average have more than ten acres of arable land. The villages with large sized holdings are situated on the un-irrigated *Kerawas*, which are sown only once in a year and the average yield of crops in these holdings is significantly low.

From this analysis, it may be inferred that the marginal and small sized farmers of unirrigated *Kerawas* outmigrate from Kashmir during winters. In the case of small and marginal farmers, the cultivated area available per head of population is negligible which has been given in Table 3.5.

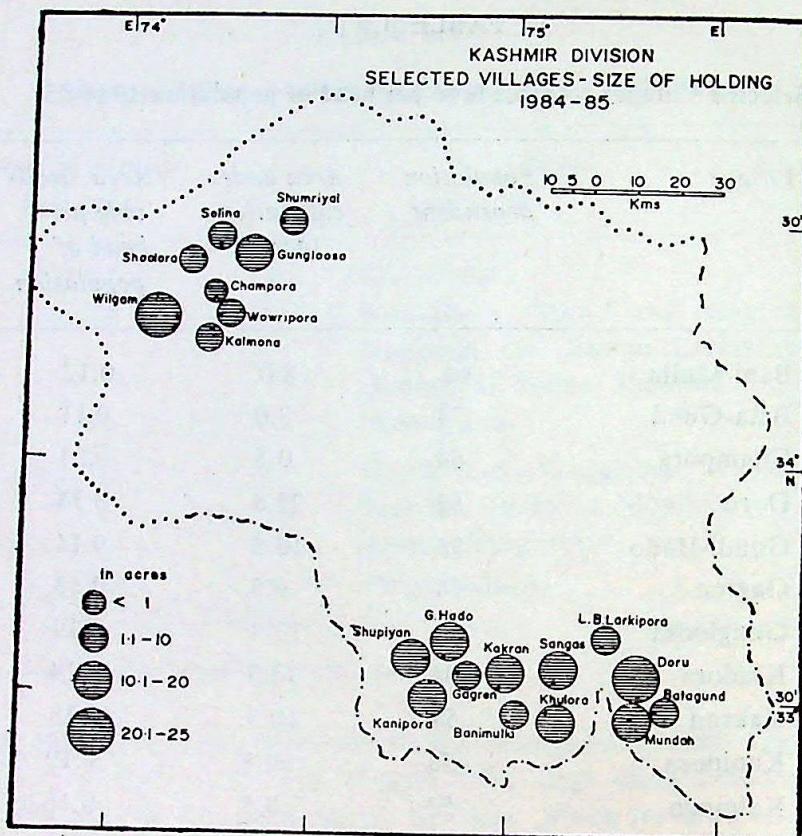
The Table 3.5 reveals that the average area available per head is 0.16 acres which is far below the national average .55 acres. It is interesting to note that there is only one village Doru in which the per capita share in cultivated land is about 0.4 acre. In rest of the villages the per capita share varies between 0.10 to 0.24 acres. The condition in Champora village seems to be critical as in this village only 0.01 acre of cultivated land is available per head of population.

TABLE 3.5

Selected Villages : Arable land per head of population 1984-85

<i>S.</i> <i>Village No.</i>	<i>Population dependent</i>	<i>Area under cultivation (acres)</i>	<i>Area avail- able per head of population</i>
1. Bani-Mulla	66	8.0	0.12
2. Bata-Gund	74	8.0	0.11
3. Champora	64	0.5	0.01
4. Dorū	62	23.8	0.38
5. Gundī-Hado	75	10.5	0.14
6. Gagren	74	9.5	0.13
7. Gungloosa	98	13.8	0.19
8. Khulora	104	14.3	0.14
9. Kakran	58	10.3	0.18
10. Kanipora	56	10.5	0.19
11. Kalmona	52	8.5	0.16
12. Lok Bawan Larkipora	64	8.0	0.13
13. Mundah	74	12.8	0.17
14. Sangas	78	13.5	0.17
15. Shupiyan	100	16.0	0.16
16. Shumriyal	72	9.5	0.13
17. Solina	72	8.8	0.12
18. Shoolora	74	9.8	0.13
19. Wowripora	49	6.8	0.13
20. Wilgam	94	23.5	0.25
Average	73	11.3	0.16

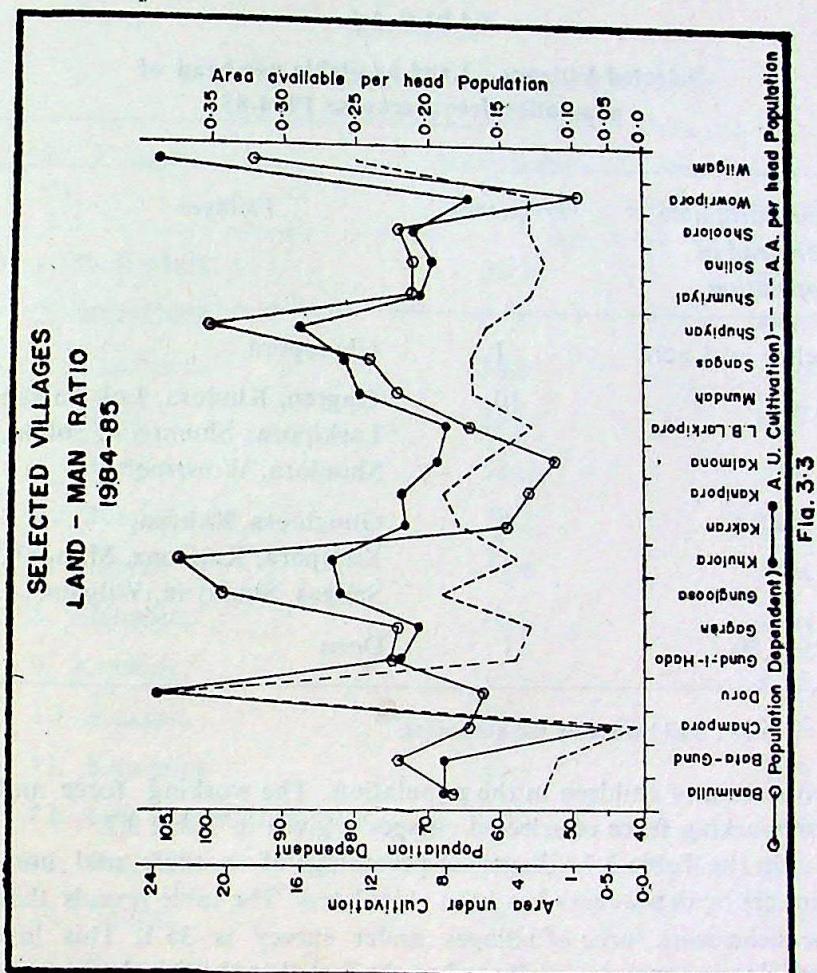
Source : Field work by the authoress



On the basis of land available per head of population the sample villages may be grouped under four categories - which are given in Table 3.6. In general the per capita share in arable land in 18 out of the twenty villages is between 0.1 to 0.25 acre. Thus there is heavy pressure on the cultivated land and consequently the people are pushed to earn their livelihood outside the Kashmir Division. Day by day, with the increase in population the situation is becoming alarming and needs immediate attention of the planners.

Occupational Structure

'Occupational structure' refers to the distribution of working population in different occupations. Each person in a population is a consumer but only a small proportion of population is contributing to its production. So the population of a region or a country



may be divided into two broad categories—the economically active population (working force) and the non-active population (non-working segment or dependents). Working force is the producing segment and the development of a country or a region mainly depends upon the quantity as well as quality of this group. The proportion that is economically active is an important factor which affects the entire stream of production. It is influenced by factors like age-structure, age at marriage, levels of income, average size of family and state of health. In under-developed and developing countries—the work-force (14-59 years) tends to be small and there is heavy dependency of juveniles owing to the high

TABLE 3.6

Selected Villages : Land available per head of population frequencywise 1984-85

<i>Land available per head of population</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Villages</i>
Below —.1 acre	1	Champora
.1—.15	10	Gagren, Khulora, Lok Bawan Larkipora, Shumriyal, Solina, Shoolora, Wowripora.
.15—.25	8	Gungloosa, Kakran, Kanipora, Kalmona, Mundah, Sangas, Shupiyan, Wilgam.
.25—.50	1	Doru

Source : Field work by the authoress.

proportion of children in the population. The working force and non-working force of selected villages is given in Table 3.7.

In the Table 3.7 villagewise percentage of workers and non-workers or dependents has been calculated. The table reveals that the mean work force of villages under survey is 35.1. This low participation may be attributed to the fact that the female literacy is very low, and in fact in many a village it is nil.

The percentages of working force may be conveniently grouped under four classes. There groups alongwith the frequency of their occurrence are given in Table 3.8.

From Table 3.8 it is evident that in two villages work force is below 30. These villages are Solina and Shoolora (Tehsil Kupwara). In nine villages the work force is between 30—35. These villages are Bani-Mulla, Champora, Gungloosa, Kalmona, Khulora, Mundah, Shumriyal, Wowripora and Wilgam.

Six villages fall under the third category, where work force is between 36—40. These villages are Bata-Gund, Doru, Gundihado, Kakran, Lok Bawan Larkipora and Sangas. In three

TABLE 3.7
Selecting Villages : Work force—1984-85

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Villages</i>	<i>Work force 14—59 years</i>	<i>Juvenile and sanile dependents</i>
1.	Bani Mulla	31.2	68.8
2.	Bata-Gund	37.0	63.0
3.	Champora	30.0	70.0
4.	Doru	36.3	63.7
5.	Gungloosa	32.0	68.0
6.	Gundi-Hado	39.7	60.3
7.	Gagren	42.6	57.4
8.	Kalmona	31.6	68.4
9.	Khulora	32.6	67.4
10.	Kakran	37.6	62.4
11.	Kanipora	42.1	57.9
12.	Lok Bawan Larkipora	35.5	64.5
13.	Mundah	31.1	68.9
14.	Sangas	36.3	63.7
15.	Shupiyan	42.0	58.0
16.	Shumriyal	32.2	67.8
17.	Solina	28.9	71.1
18.	Shoolora	28.9	71.1
19.	Wowripora	32.4	67.6
20.	Wilgam	35.0	65.0
<i>Average</i>		35.1	64.9

Source : Field work by the authoress.

TABLE 3.8

Selected Villages : Frequencywise work force—1984-85

<i>Category</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Villages</i>
A	Below—30	2	Solina, Shoolora
B	30—35	9	Bani-Mulla, Champora, Gungloosa, Kalmona, Khulora, Mundah, Shumiryal Wowripora, Wilgam.
C	35—40	6	Bata-Gund, Doru, Gundi-Hado, Kakran, Lok Bawan Larkipora, Sangas.
D	40—Above	3	Gagren, Kanipora, Shupiyan.

Source : Field work by the authoress.

villages, the work force is above 40. These villages are Gagren, Kanipora and Shupiyan.

Though in India usually adult population (15—59) is taken as the work force but, in the present study all persons (men and women) of all the three age-groups (juvenile, adult and senile) who take part in economic activities have been included to know the actual work force of the selected villages and their economic position.

The distribution of work force by age and sex in the selected villages is given in Table 3.9.

The Table 3.9 discloses that there are three categories of workers and non-workers (i) juvenile (0—14) (ii) Adults (15—59) and (iii) Senile (60 and above).

In the juvenile group the percentage of male workers is 9.5 and zero in case of females. The percentage of non-workers for males and females is 47.6 and 42.9 respectively. The reason for this percentage of workers and non-workers among juveniles is

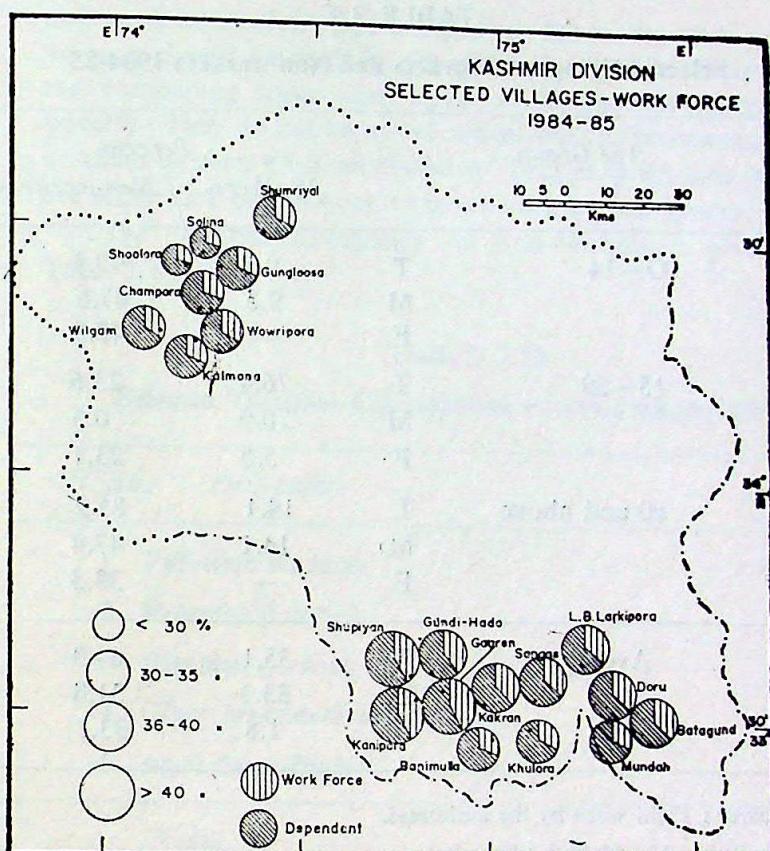


Fig. 3.4

that some adolescents are forced to work as labourers in the locality during favourable season. They accompany their elders and migrate to the neighbouring states during off-season. The poverty in the family compels them to become workers in order to supplement their family income. Some of these, in view of the prevalent custom of child marriage, stand married and consequently have to shoulder responsibility. It will not be out of the place to cite an example which the authoress experienced while doing field work. In the village Champora (Tehsil Handwara) on eleven year old mother was holding a one year baby in her lap. The father of the baby was thirteen years old. The State of their living, dress, housing and health spoke of their object poverty in spite of the fact that the thirteen years old father worked as a

TABLE 3.9

Selected Villages : Workers and Non-workers 1984-85

S. No.	Age Group		Percent
		Workers	Non-workers
1.	0—14	T	9.5
		M	9.5
		F	—
2.	15—59	T	76.4
		M	70.9
		F	5.5
3.	60 and above	T	14.1
		M	14.1
		F	—
Average		T	35.1
		M	33.3
		F	1.8
			64.9
			31.8
			33.1

Source : Field work by the authoress.

T : Table; M : Male; F : Female.

labourer. He even migrates to the warmer areas of the country during winters.

In the age-group 15—59 (Adults) the percentage of workers and non-workers is 76.4 and 23.6 respectively. The percentage of male workers is 70.9 as against a very small percentage of 5.5 of the females. The low percentage of females is because of the fact that there are no employment opportunities available for women. There are several disabled people in the households surveyed who are in the active age group but dependent owing to their handicaps. This percentage being only 0.4 per cent may be taken as insignificant.

In the senile age-group 14.1 per cent males are workers and the percentage of female workers is zero. The percentage of male dependents is 47.4 and that of females is 38.5. Some elderly people

also work in the fields and orchards as labourers and watchmen. Some of them have undoubtedly good physique for their age but the compelling force here again as in case of juvenile is the poverty. They do not enjoy retirement but the retirement is forced on them by their physical disability. They stop working when they are either sick or too weak to move outside their homes.

The various categories of non-workers is given in the Table 3.10.

TABLE 3.10
Selected Villages—Classification of non-workers 1984-85

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Particulars</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1.	Full time students	9.8
2.	Household duties	43.0
3.	Disabled persons	0.5
4.	Other dependent and infants	35.5
5.	Aged dependents	11.2
Total		100

Source : Field work by the authoress.

The Table 3.10 reveals that the maximum percentage of dependents is that of females, young and able bodies who are engaged in household chores. They look after the young and old, the land and the cattle, the house and the vegetable gardens. They also collect feed, fodder and fuel. In the absence of those male members, who migrate outside Kashmir or move out of their villages during the cold bleak months of winter, they shoulder the entire household responsibilities. They are followed by other dependents 33.5 per cent. They include infants, young out of school boys and girls.

Next in order come aged dependents whose ill-health and weak physique necessitates rest rather than work. 9.8 per cent of

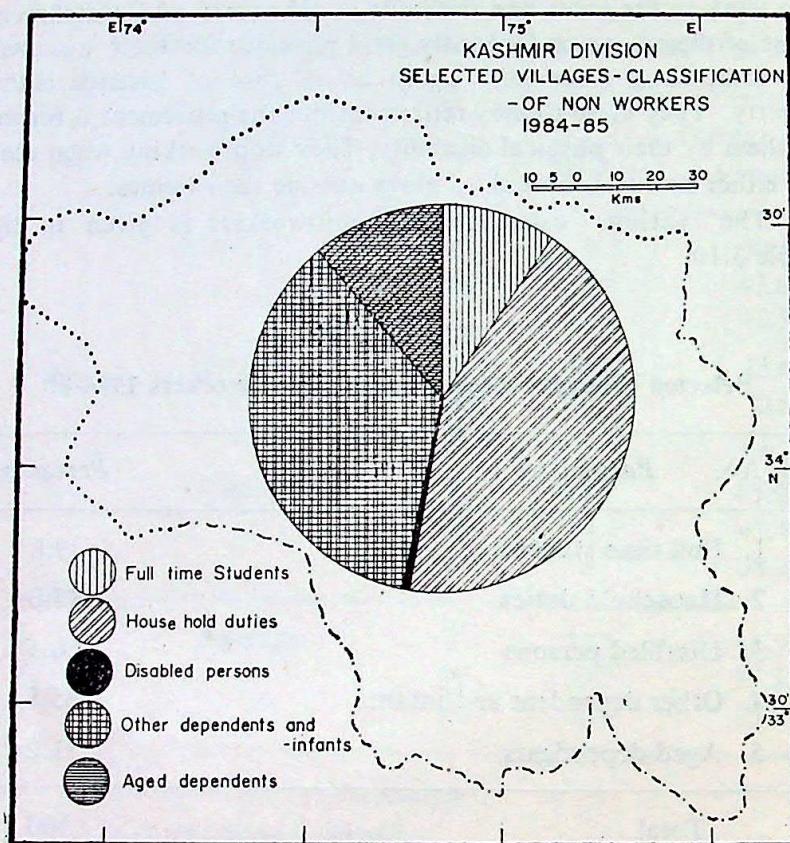


Fig. 3-5

the dependents are students. A majority of them attends lately started *Anganwari* and *Balwari* centres and rest study in local primary and middle schools.

Occupations are of numerous varieties. Human occupation are generally divisible into primary, secondary and tertiary sectors.

Primary sector relates to the production of primary goods. The goods are not primary because they are of primary importance but because they are primarily the first to develop in any economy and their products are essential or vital for human existence⁵. They are carried with the help of nature. The primary group includes several occupations of which the most important is agriculture. Others are fisheries, hunting, gathering and small scale mining. Therefore, all those persons who are

persuing occupations that are dependent upon agriculture or fisheries or hunting or mining on a small scale are to be grouped under one head.⁶

Under the title secondary occupations we include, a whole series of diverse occupations whose only common denominator is the production of material goods. This group includes all types of extractive industries, the highly complex range of transformation industries and lastly building within the transformation industries, usually called 'manufacturing'. The secondary group of occupations is thus a world in itself. At the one end it has very close relationship with the primary group (for in the extractive industries man is scratching natural resources from the earth) at the other it is closely linked with tertiary sector, in a manner which is not fundamentally direct.⁷

The tertiary group is a composite one. It includes all those activities which are not productive of material goods and so embraces transport and commerce, banking and insurance, public and private services.⁸ This group is the outcome of both the primary and secondary types of activity and, therefore, it is merely an adjunct to both these sectors.

The occupational structure of selected villages is given in Table 3.11.

An examination of Table 3.11 reveals that 86.8 per cent of the total population is engaged in primary, 6.1 per cent in secondary and 7.1 per cent in tertiary occupation. The distribution of workers in the three sectors is a clear indicator of the low level of economic development. It is generally noticed that the more backward an economy is, more population well depend upon agriculture and less on industry.⁹ An economic development takes place when the percentage of persons employed in professional, administrative and clerical groups increases, whereas the percentage employed as farmers, fishermen and hunters declines. Thus the figures of Table 3.11 present a typical picture of under-developed economy, in which more work force is absorbed in agriculture and other primary activities. This clearly indicates the lack of secondary and tertiary sectors. Industries and services do not provide work even to one-eighth of the total population, showing a significantly low level of development.

TABLE 3.11
Selected Villages Occupational Structure

<i>Locality</i>	<i>Primary</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Tertiary</i>
Bani-Mulla	100.0	—	—
Bata-Gund	93.0	2.0	5.0
Champora	92.0	4.0	4.0
Doru	80.0	9.0	11.0
Gundi-Hado	89.0	7.0	4.0
Gagren	81.0	6.0	13.0
Gungloosa	95.0	—	5.0
Khulora	86.0	8.0	6.0
Kakran	100.0	—	—
Kanipora	85.0	5.0	10.0
Kalmona	88.0	6.0	6.0
Lok Bawan Larkipora	79.0	11.0	10.0
Mundah	91.0	—	9.0
Sangas	83.0	9.0	8.0
Shupiyan	79.0	15.0	6.0
Shumriyal	85.0	8.0	7.0
Solina	84.0	9.0	7.0
Shoolora	91.0	5.0	4.0
Wowripora	82.0	6.0	12.0
Wilgam	86.0	8.0	6.0
Average	86.8	6.1	7.1

Source : Field work by the authoress.

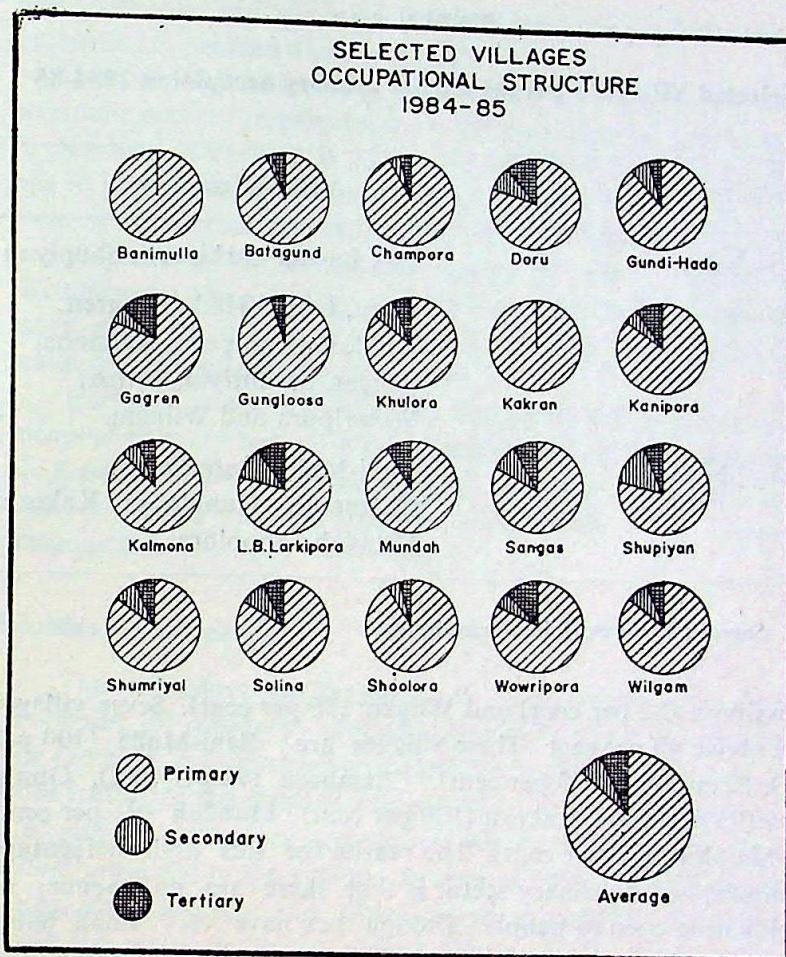


Fig. 3·6

The Table 3.12 shows the proportion of primary sector in selected villages. The work force mostly work as cultivators or assist in cultivation operations as agricultural labourers. Mostly those people work as agricultural labourers who are landless or have small sized holdings.

It is evident from Table 3.12 that the number of villages which fall below 80 per cent is only two—Lok Baw in Larkipora (79 per cent) and Shupiyan (79 per cent). In eleven villages this frequency is between 80-90 per cent, these villages are Doru (80 per cent), Gundi-Hado (89 per cent), Gagren (81 per cent), Khulora (86 per cent), Kanipora (85 per cent), Kalmona (88 per cent), Sangas (83 per cent), Shumriyal (85 per cent), Solina (91 per cent),

TABLE 3.12

Selected Villages—Frequencywise primary occupation 1984-85

<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Name of villages</i>
80—below	2	Lok Bawan Larkipora, Shupiyan
80—90	11	Doru, Gundi-Hado, Gagren, Khulora, Kanipora, Kalmona, Sangas, Shumriyal, Solina, Wowripora and Wilgam.
90—above	7	Bani-Mulla, Bata-Gund, Champora, Gungloosa, Kakran, Mundah, Shoolora.

Source : Field work by the authoress.

Wowripora (82 per cent) and Wilgam (86 per cent). Seven villages have above 90 per cent. These villages are : Bani-Mulla (100 per cent), Bata-Gund (93 per cent), Champora (92 per cent), Gungloosa (95 per cent), Kakran (100 per cent), Mundah (91 per cent) and Shoolora (91 per cent). The reason for this high percentage of population in primary sector is that there are no avenues of employment open to people. Though they have very small holdings, they take agriculture as their main occupation. So agriculture sector is the major shock absorber for employment.

The other factor responsible for dominance of primary occupation is the tradition bound character of people. The son of a farmer wants to become a farmer only rather than a tailor, a mason or an artisan. They hesitate to give up the occupation of their forefathers and in spite of severe problems and hardships, they consider agriculture superior to other occupations. By respecting it, they think, they are paying respect to their ancestors.

The comparatively low percentage of people dependent on agriculture in Lok Bawan Larkipora and Shupiyan is mainly due to their urban character. In Shupiyan, a majority of people is busy with fruit industry. They have converted their paddy fields

into orchards and are thus engaged in the allied activities of orchards i.e. packing and selling of fruits.

In spite of the fact that agriculture is the most important economic activity employing about 65.5 per cent of the population in Kashmir Division, it is not self sufficient in food supply and has to import lakhs of tonnes of food grains from the rest of the country. In fact the geo-ecological and socio-cultural constraints are responsible for inadequate supply of food. Under these circumstances the people go outside the Kashmir Division to fetch more amounts to run their family budgets. So agriculture is realised as disguised unemployment.

Forestry, hunting, fishing and livestock are the other constituents of primary sector. About 2.9 per cent of total population of Kashmir Division is dependent on these activities. In the villages under survey, these occupations are, however, insignificant.

Secondary Occupations

The secondary occupations are those which involve the processing of products attained from the primary occupations. For example, manufacturing of cloth from cotton and Jam, Jelly from fruits. In the selected villages very small percentage i.e. 6.1 is engaged in secondary occupations which shows a low level of industrialisation in the region. In several villages e.g. Bani-Mulla, Gungloosa, Kakran and Mundah, the population dependent on secondary sector is almost absent (Table 3.11). The population engaged in the various types of secondary occupations has been given in Table 3.13.

The Table 3.13 reveals that 38.8 per cent people are engaged in processing 32.3 per cent in construction work and 28.9 per cent in manufacturing. Processing of primary product is a dominant economic activity in the villages situated in Kupwara and Shupiyan Tehsils. It is mainly because Tehsil Kupwara has rich deposits of marble. Government has taken quick steps in the extraction of marble. The marble mines attract labourers from Solina, Shoolora and Shumriyal villages. Contrary to this the Shupiyan Tehsil has large concentration of orchards and work like processing and canning of fruits is essential. Naturally here a

TABLE 3.13

Selected Villages—Secondary Occupations 1984-85

S. No.	Villages	Percentagewise secondary occupation		
		Processing	Construction	Manufacture
1.	Bani-Mulla	—	—	—
2.	Bata-Gund	—	33.4	66.6
3.	Champora	25.0	75.0	—
4.	Doru	—	25.0	75.0
5.	Gundi-Hado	42.8	28.6	28.6
6.	Gagren	33.4	33.3	33.3
7.	Gungloosa	—	—	—
8.	Khulora	—	30.0	70.0
9.	Kakran	—	—	—
10.	Kanipora	40.0	20.0	40.0
11.	Kalmona	40.0	40.0	20.0
12.	Lok Bawan Larkipora	—	45.5	54.5
13.	Mundah	—	—	—
14.	Sangas	—	44.4	55.6
15.	Shupiyan	83.3	—	16.6
16.	Shumriyal	62.5	12.5	25.0
17.	Solina	66.6	33.4	—
18.	Shoolora	60.0	15.0	15.0
19.	Wowripora	33.4	66.6	—
20.	Wilgam	—	45.0	55.0
Average		38.8	32.3	28.9

Source : Field work by the authoress.

substantial portion of the work force is dependent in these activities.

In the villages, Champora, Lok Bawan Larkipora, Mundah

and Wowripora, a substantial work force is engaged in construction work. Though there are handicraft centres and small private as well as Government industries but being unskilled they get absorbed in ordinary jobs as manual labourers. In Bata-Gund, Doru, Khulora, Lok Bawan Larkipora, Sangas and Wilgam handicrafts provide employment to most of the workers. Female workers, generally do not work in the secondary sector excepting a few who work in rice mills.

Tertiary Occupations

Tertiary occupations include a wide range of personal and professional services provided to the country. All persons who are pursuing these occupations are included in tertiary occupations.

The Table 3.14 reveals that about 25 per cent of the tertiary work force is engaged in trade and commerce, 41.2 per cent in Transport, storage and communication and 33.7 per cent workers are engaged as permanent or temporary employees in Government or private Institutions and organisations.

'Trade and Commerce' usually includes selling of fruits, rice, chillies etc. which they buy from other persons and sell by getting some profit. They go from village to village, town to town to sell it. This type of work is usually done in the villages like Doru, Gundi-Hado, Gagren, Khulora, Lok Bawan Larkipora, Sangas, Shupiyam and Wilgam. Some people sell clay (*Huri-Mach* and *Navi-Much*) which they get from neighbouring hills or buy it at lower prices and then sell at higher prices in towns and cities. The clay is used for plastering purposes. Women wait anxiously for the clay sellers on festivals and important days like *Idd*, *Shivratri*, *Diwali*, *Meraj-ul-Aalam* etc. 41 per cent of the total tertiary workers are busy in temporary work in transport, storage and communication. During tourist season they go to urban areas and tourist resorts and work in bus-stands to load and unload the buses.

About 33.7 per cent of the tertiary workers are engaged in assorted temporary services. Most of people are employed in urban centres, towns and cities as chowkidars (*Wani Rach*). They work as guards during night and save the big merchants i.e. Shawl-merchants, Jwellers, Carpet owners etc. from theft. There

TABLE 3.14

Selected Villages—Tertiary occupations 1984-85

S. No.	Village	Percentagewise tertiary occupation			
		Trade and Commerce	Transport, Storage	Other services	Communication
1.	Bani-Mulla	—	—	—	—
2.	Bata-Gund	20.0	80.0	—	—
3.	Champora	—	—	100.0	
4.	Doru	45.5	36.4	18.1	
5.	Gundi-Hado	40.0	40.0	20.0	
6.	Gagren	53.8	30.8	15.4	
7.	Gungloosa	—	40.0	60.0	
8.	Khulora	50.0	25.0	25.0	
9.	Kakran	—	—	—	
10.	Kanipora	30.0	40.0	30.0	
11.	Kalmona	—	—	100.0	
12.	Lok Bawan Larkipora	40.0	30.0	30.0	
13.	Mundah	—	55.6	44.4	
14.	Sangas	37.5	25.0	37.5	
15.	Shupiyan	60.0	40.0	—	
16.	Shumriyal	—	57.2	42.8	
17.	Solina	—	57.2	42.8	
18.	Shoolora	—	—	—	
19.	Wowripora	—	58.4	41.6	
20.	Wilgam	75.0	—	25.0	
Average		25.1	41.2	33.7	

Source : Field work by the authoress.

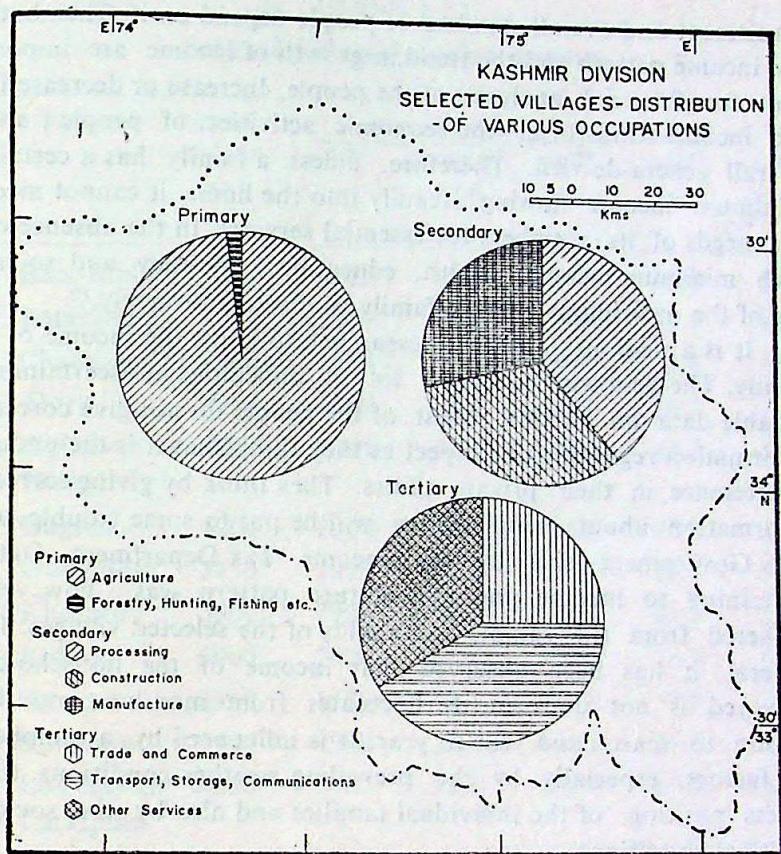


Fig. 3-7

are cases when one guard is engaged to watch only one shop, sometimes one guard has to watch two or more shops. The duty assignment depends upon the standard of the merchant. Similarly workers are also engaged to watch and protect factories. But during winters when the owners and merchants close their shops and leave for other states of the country, these workers becoming jobless move to Indian Plains to get employment. There are a few women who work as 'peons' and 'mothers' in *Aanganwari* and *Balwari* centres.

Income Pattern

Income is the most basic of all determinants of development. It has been considered as the key indicator of economic development of a nation or group of people. The mode of life, savings

investment and overall standard of people depend on it. Thus both the income pattern and the trend in growth of income are important for financial analysis of the people. Increase or decrease in the income transforms the economic activities of people and overall genera-de-vieu. Therefore, unless a family has a certain minimum income flowing steadily into the home, it cannot meet the needs of its members for essential services. In the absence of such minimum income, health, education, efficiency and social life of the individuals and the family is affected adversely.¹⁰

It is a tedious job for a researcher to know the income of a family. The field worker faces a lot of difficulties in ascertaining reliable data on income. Most of the people do not give correct information regarding this aspect as they think that it is the undue interference in their private affairs. They think by giving correct information about income, they will be put to some trouble by the Government and by the Income Tax Department. Data pertaining to income and expenditure pattern was, however, gathered from the sample households of the selected villages. In general, it has been observed that income of the households surveyed is not uniform. It fluctuates from month to month, season to season and year to year. It is influenced by a number of factors, especially by the prevailing weather conditions, the assets position of the individual families and also by the socio-political conditions.

The income of migratory labourers is of two types i. e. (i) the income earned from within the Kashmir Division (ii) the income earned from outside the Kashmir Division. The income pattern of selected villages have been given in Table 3.1

An analysis of Table 3.15 reveals that the total income of selected households per year is Rs. 86480, which comes to Rs. 360.00 per month per household and about Rs. 60 per head per month of population. Due to this low per capita income most of the people live miserably much below the poverty line. The basic cause of per capita low income and low standard of living is the :—

- (i) Excessive dependence on agriculture; and
- (ii) low production due to small size of holdings,

TABLE 3.15
Selected Villages—Income pattern

S. No.	Village	Total income (Rs.)	Annual Income			%age of total	Per capita income per month
			In*	%age of total	out**		
1.	Bani-Mulla	3720	2020	54.3	1700	45.7	56.3
2.	Bata-Gund	4500	2200	46.9	2300	51.1	60.8
3.	Champora	3200	1200	37.5	2000	72.5	50.0
4.	Doru	4900	3100	63.3	1800	36.7	79.0
5.	Gundi-Hado	4250	2450	57.6	1800	42.4	56.7
6.	Gagren	4200	2300	54.8	1900	45.2	57.0
7.	Gungloosa	5450	2900	53.2	2550	46.8	55.6
8.	Khulora	5300	2900	54.7	2400	45.3	51.0
9.	Kakran	3900	2400	61.5	1500	38.5	67.2
10.	Kanipora	3930	1930	49.1	2000	50.8	70.0
11.	Kalmona	3400	1900	55.8	1500	44.2	65.4
12.	Lok Bawan Larkipora	4000	2100	52.5	1900	47.5	62.5
13.	Mundah	4230	2330	55.0	1900	45.0	57.2
14.	Sangas	4300	2400	55.8	1900	44.2	55.1
15.	Shupiyan	5600	2700	48.0	2900	52.0	56.0
16.	Shumriyal	4350	2100	48.3	2250	51.7	60.4
17.	Solina	4300	1900	44.2	2400	55.8	59.7
18.	Shoolora	3900	1800	46.2	2100	53.8	52.7
19.	Wowripora	3050	1500	49.2	1550	50.8	62.2
20.	Wilgam	6000	3500	58.3	2500	41.7	63.8
Total/ average		86480	45630	52.5	40850	47.2	60.0

Source: Field work by the authoress.

* Income from within the Kashmir Division.

** Income from outside the Kashmir Division.

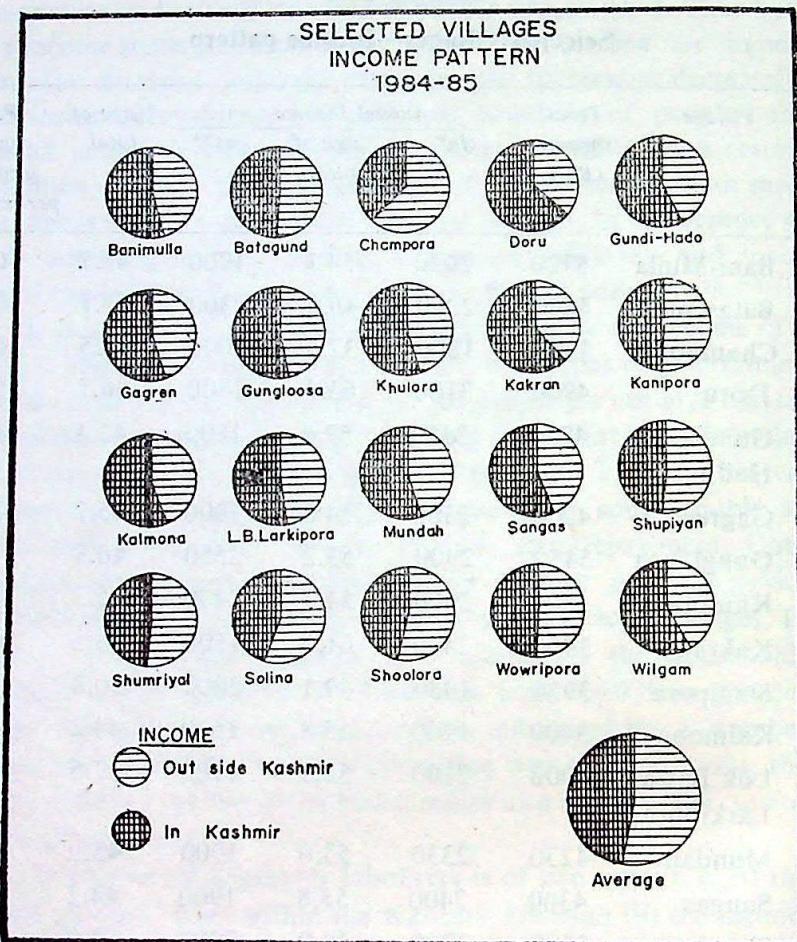


Fig. 3.8(a)

The major portion of population is engaged in agriculture and other primary activities. The result is the disguised un-employment. This means that quite a large number of those people, who are engaged in agriculture hardly add anything to the agriculture output. In other words, marginal productivity of workers engaged in agriculture is zero over a wide range of production, implying thereby a colossal waste of labour.

Low productivity is due to the small size of holdings and the primitive techniques in agriculture. Low productivity yields low-income and low income in turn reduces the people's capacity to work. It is universal that a poor man is rendered weak in course

of time due to inadequate diet. The bodily weakness reduces his efficiency or the capacity to work and this lowers his income level as well. And as a consequence of lower income the poor man continues to grow weaker and inefficient, thereby perpetuating his poverty. In other words poverty itself is both a cause and effect of poverty.

The distribution of income is given in Table 3.16.

TABLE 3.16

Selected Villages : Per capita income pattern (frequencywise).

<i>Per capita Income Frequency group (Rs.)</i>		<i>Villages</i>
50 and below	1	Champora
51—60	10	Bani-Mulla, Gundihado, Gagren, Gungloosa, Khulora, Mundah, Sangas, Shupiyan, Solina, Shoolora.
61—70	8	Bata-Gund, Kakran, Kanipora, Kalmona, Lok Bawan Larkipora, Shumriyal, Wowripora, Wilgam.
71 and above	1	Doru.

The Table 3.16 reveals that one village namely Champora has per capita income of only Rs. 50% per month. In ten villages it is between 51—60. These villages are: Bani-Mulla, Gundihado, Gagren, Gungloosa, Khulora, Mundah, Sangas, Shupiyan, Solina and Shoolora. In eight villages per capita income is between 61—70. These villages include, Bata-Gund, Kakran, Kanipora, Kalmona, Lok Bawan Larkipora, Shumriyal, Wowripora and Wilgam. In one village, Doru, the per capita income is above 71.

The high per capita income is mainly due to the large sized holdings, other assets, better health and family conditions.

The low income is mainly due to the small sized holdings, non-availability of job throughout the year, poor health of workers

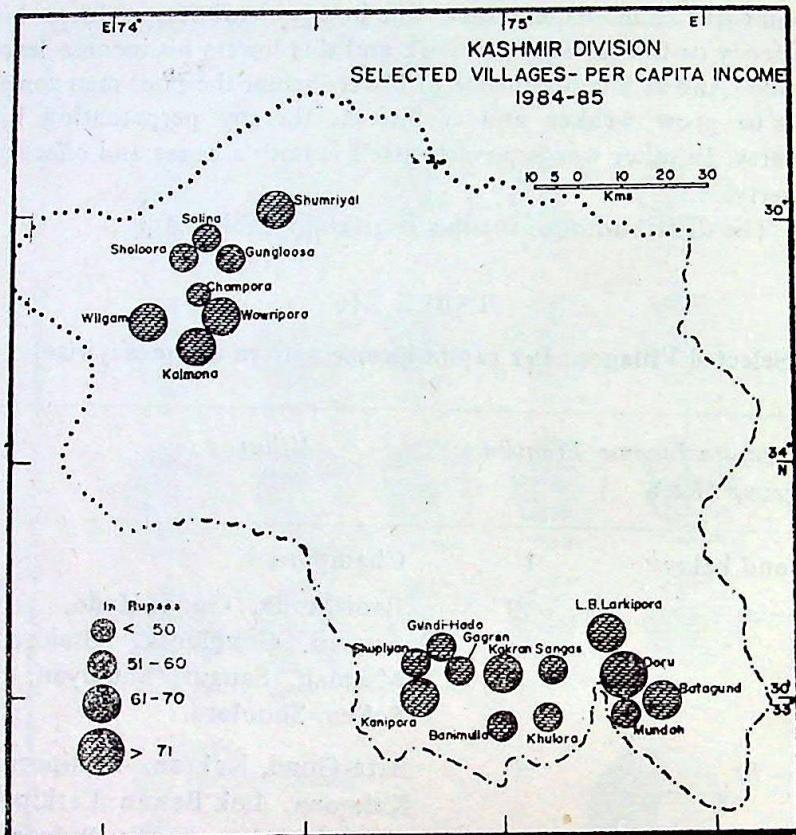


Fig 3-8 (b)

and lower social status of the workers who have very little assets and poor resource base.

Expenditure pattern

A direct measure of living is the household expenditure pattern. The average per capita expenditure for each family increases with the increase in income but not necessarily proportionately. Like income, expenditure of the selected households varies. The expenditure pattern of selected households is given in Table 3.17.

An analysis of Table 3.17 reveals that most of the expenditure is incurred on the items of food. About 60 per cent of the total expenditure goes for food items, 8 per cent for clothing. About 8 per cent is spent on education and health. Having low

TABLE 3.17
Selected Villages—Expenditure Pattern

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Food</i>	<i>Cloth- ing</i>	<i>Housing</i>	<i>Educa- tion</i>	<i>Health</i>	<i>Fuel</i>	<i>Miscell- aneous</i>
1.	Bani-Mulla	61.4	7.6	8.7	2.0	4.0	8.1	8.2
2.	Bata-Gund	56.3	9.1	9.4	4.0	4.0	9.8	7.4
3.	Champora	70.1	5.0	6.4	—	4.0	6.5	8.0
4.	Doru	51.8	12.0	11.7	6.0	5.0	9.7	4.0
5.	Gundi- Hado	57.6	9.0	8.6	3.0	6.0	7.5	8.3
6.	Gagren	59.3	8.6	9.3	4.0	5.0	6.5	7.3
7.	Gungloosa	62.8	6.3	10.7	2.0	6.0	4.2	8.0
8.	Khulora	60.5	5.2	9.5	3.0	6.0	1.5	8.3
9.	Kakran	62.2	6.3	9.3	2.0	3.0	8.2	9.0
10.	Kanipora	62.0	7.0	8.5	2.0	6.0	6.5	8.0
11.	Kalmona	63.2	6.4	7.4	2.0	6.0	6.5	8.5
12.	Lok Bawan Larkipora	53.4	9.9	10.3	5.0	4.0	8.7	8.7
13.	Mundah	65.3	6.4	9.7	2.0	3.0	7.9	5.7
14.	Sangas	54.8	9.2	10.2	5.0	5.0	6.5	9.3
15.	Shupiyan	51.4	11.0	11.8	6.0	5.0	8.6	6.2
16.	Shumriyal	60.2	9.1	8.6	3.0	5.0	4.3	9.8
17.	Solina	61.3	8.6	8.2	3.0	6.0	4.5	8.4
18.	Shoolora	59.8	8.3	11.5	3.0	5.0	4.0	8.4
19.	Wowripora	59.2	4.2	11.0	3.0	5.0	5.0	9.6
20.	Wilgam	55.6	10.0	12.2	4.0	3.0	7.8	7.4
Average		59.4	8.1	9.6	3.3	4.8	6.9	7.9

Source : Field work by the authoress.

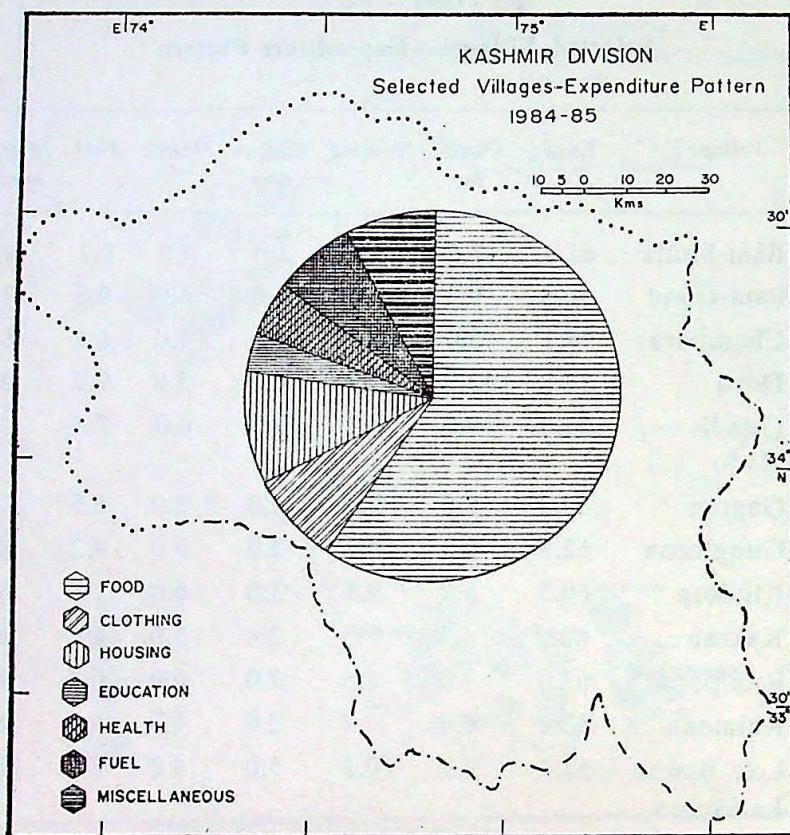


Fig. 3.9

income they run a deficit budget and can not spend more on items like education, health etc. They usually take simple food, *Hak-Bata* (Rice and Sag). They have liking for almost all vegetables. They grow vegetables in their vegetable gardens. Being non-vegetarian they eat mutton, meat, fish, eggs, fowls, ducks etc. Beans and pulses are also used. Ghee and edible oils are liked and taken everywhere in Kashmir. Kashmiris especially, rural people have a general liking for saltish tea, *Noona-Chai*. They take it twice a day. One is taken early in the morning as breakfast with some bread and other round is completed between 4-6 p. m. The *Noona-Chai* is prepared in a special copper utensil called *Samavar*. They take intoxicants like tobacco. For this huqa or *Jagir* is used. A *Jagir* has three parts (i) the central part with rounded base and narrow neck (ii) a *chilim* in which tobacco and live embers are

kept and (iii) *Nalcha* (or pipe). An average family spends Rs.1-3 on tobacco per day. They spend a good amount of their budget for the winter preparations like *Zueun* (firewood), charcoal (*Tchinl*), *Bouth* (cow-dung), *haq*, *Kangar*, Woollen clothing, heavy bedding etc. They also spend some amount on the repairs of their houses before the advent of winter (*Wundah*).

Thus the expenditure pattern of selected households corresponds to the expenditure pattern of poor economics in which maximum portion of income is spent on food and less on items like education, health, recreation etc.

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Seasonal Migration—Origin and Destination

Migration of Kashmiri labourers during winter months to the Great Plains and distant cities of the country is the result of several push and pull factors. This age old tradition has its own history. The Kashmir—‘a paradise on earth’ provides enormous attractions for the tourists and intourists during summer but the cold winter creates harsh weather conditions for the inhabitants. This period becomes miserable especially for the rural unskilled labourers. Under the impact of inclement weather the labourers are pushed out of their abodes and in search of employment they start moving out in the beginning of October or just after harvesting the *kharif* (summer) crops, when winter sets. Generally they return home in early spring (March-April), before the commencement of agricultural operations.

The climatic and geographical conditions of the Kashmir Division coupled with its single crop economy are some of the basic factors responsible for such migration. The Kashmir Division is predominantly agricultural in which about 74 per cent of the total population is directly or indirectly dependent on agriculture. Nearly 65 per cent of the rural population earns its livelihood from the cultivation of crops and allied activities, while another 10 per cent works as auxiliary population serving the farmers. The pressure on agricultural land is, however, tremendous as only 22 per cent of the total land of the division is under plough. Moreover, the severe cold and the low temperatures in winter months do not help the cultivation of *Rabi* (winter) crop. The agriculture therefore, does not provide full time employment throughout the year to rural work force. The labour remains idle during *Rabi* season

which leads to their outmigration during winter months in search of jobs and to pass there winter comfortably in the relatively warmer areas of the country.

The basic necessities of the people are closely influenced by the prevailing weather and climatic conditions. A proper house and shelter is a basic need to protect the family from severe cold. The importance of shelter in Kashmir may be judged from the following popular proverb which says:

“Sori wara Chali, Mager Deri Wara Ni Keah”

This means that shelter is more necessary than food. The climate of Kashmir does not favour outdoor life, so a perfect shelter is must. There are neither pavement dwellers in Kashmir nor *Jhuggis*.¹ So with other necessities of life, one has to build a house once in his life. Poor people who have mud houses with thatched or wooden roofs have to repair it every year before the advent of winter, so that they may not be exposed to cold during severe cold and frosty winters.

Severe cold due to sub-zero temperature makes it necessary that the floor of the rooms should be covered by mats. Mats are usually made of paddy stalks, thatched grasses and rushes which act as better insulators. Rich and medium class people cover the mats with *Carpets*, *Namdas* and *Gabbas*. The cold winter also demands woollen clothes. Kashmiris usually wear *Pheran* (loose-gown) made of Puttu or any other woollen yarn. Blankets *Loyi* or *Chaddar* is also used. Heavy bedding and *Kangri* are also among the necessities of the people. The useful *Kangri* (Kangar) an invariable companion forms an important part of the Kashmiri's life, which is reflected in the following adage.

“What Laile was on Majnuns bosom so is the Kangar to a Kashmiri”.

The Kangar comprises a small earthen bowl (Kundal) of a quaint shape, held in a frame of wicker-work.² It needs *Tchinl* (Charcoal) and live embers to ignite and is kept underneath the voluminous gown or *Pheran*. The best fuel for *Kangar* is *haq*, the small drift wood which is collected at the mouth of the hill rivers by nets. Cowdung (Bouth) and other dung mixed with dried

chinar leaves, is also commonly used as fuel for *Kangar*.³ *Kangar* is an essential heating device. The chemistry behind the production of heat in it is the slow combustion of charcoal in a limited supply of air and at a definite temperature⁴. The price of *Kangar* varies from Rs. 6 to Rs. 60. On the average a Kashmiri child uses 2-4 *Kangris* during one season. The contents of the *Kangri* are constantly stirred with the help of a wooden, metallic or even silver shovel (challen).

A Kashmiri whether rich or poor makes all these preparations for winter i.e. heavy clothing, heavy bedding, *kangri*, fuel wood, timber, charcoal etc. in the early autumn—otherwise he may fall an easy prey to blankets in the bleak winter.

Cold winter influences health also. It spreads pulmonary diseases i.e. bronchitis, asthma etc. Cold, influenza, exposure, chilling are common phenomena. Infants and children get diseases like pneumonia, measles, whooping cough and frost bites.

All these forces squeeze a poor Kashmiri and double or even triple his monthly expenditure in winter than in summer. Due to these compelling forces, jobless labourers leave their families and move out to earn for themselves and their families.

In some socially rural areas of the region, there is a custom of paying bride price. A bridegroom has to pay bride-money, fixed by two parties to the father or guardian of the bride, otherwise he may remain unmarried throughout his life. In order to fetch bride-money and to supplement the family income, unmarried people go out. For married persons it is the marriage of the son or the daughter that compels the rural poors to seasonal migration.

The desire to satisfy the basic urge in man to seek a change of environment is also partly responsible for the seasonal migration. The migrants present a rosy picture of their places of sojourn, and give exaggerated accounts of their material gains to the young ones who stay at homes. In the desire for travel and migration is tickled and they follow the foot-steps of their elders. This breaks the monotony of their uneventful and routine life and they experience the variety in places and people and continue work with change. Honest, docile and God-fearing as they are, they make commitments with their employers for a return visit next season. It is this unending circle of making and honouring

their commitments that draws them back to their chosen places time and again. Thus the environmental factors and socio-economic milieu work as the push and pull factors for the seasonal migrants during the winter season. In fact most of the labourers migrate in the hope of improving their income and economic status.

Places of Origin

The outgoing labour force during winters (locally known as 'Punjabi'), originate from almost all parts of the Kashmir. According to the survey conducted by the Directorate of Evaluation and Statistics in the years 1973-74 and 1975-76, labourers outmigrate from all the districts of Kashmir Division. The districtwise proportion of outmigrant labour has been given in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1
Migratory Labourers : Source Areas

<i>S.</i> <i>No.</i>	<i>Districts</i>	<i>1973-74</i> <i>percentage</i>	<i>1975-76</i> <i>percentage</i>
1.	Anantnag	62.0	59.0
2.	Pulwama	14.0	19.0
3.	Kupwara	17.0	13.0
4.	Baramula		
5.	Srinagar		
6.	Badgam	7.0	9.0
Total		100.0	100.0

Source : Directorate of Evaluation and Statistics.

An analysis of Table 4.1 reveals that migratory labourers originate from all the districts of Kashmir Division. The proportion is, however, uneven. Most of the labourers originate from the district Anantnag, the next important district being Pulwama and Kupwara. The other three districts i.e. Baramulla, Srinagar

and Badgam also contribute though less than 10 per cent of the total outmigrants.

A district is too large a unit for such type of study and therefore information about such labourers was gathered at the Tehsil level. The tehsilwise statistics will enable to identify the micro units from where the labourers outmigrate in large number. The tehsilwise statistics are given in Table 4.2.

An analysis of Table 4.2 makes it evident that a bulk of labourers are from higher reaches and hilly areas of Kulgam and Shupiyan belts in the south and upper areas of Handwara and Kupwara belt in the North. The total number of such migratory labourers in the tehsils of Kulgam, Shupiyan, Doru, Anantnag and Pulwama comes to about 28356. This can be better appreciated when compared with total number of workers of districts of Anantnag and Pulwama during the census of 1971 which was 247.000. About 11 per cent of the working male population of these two districts of Anantnag and Pulwama leaves their homes in search of temporary employment.

The Tehsils of Shupiyan, Kulgam, Doru and Anantnag lie at the foot of the Pir-Panjal Range. It is not surprising to find these areas lying on the routes from Kashmir to Western and Central Punjab that crossed the important passes in this mountain range like the Banihal, Gulabgarh, Sedau and Pir-Panjal, seemingly these areas happen to be the traditional sources of migratory labour from Kashmir.

The second significant labour supply area is the present Kupwara district especially the tehsils of Handwara and Kupwara. About 13 per cent of the total seasonal migrants come from this area. This area lies in the North Western Kashmir far away from the National Highway and involves an additional day of travel from their homes to Srinagar before proceeding to Jammu and the places of their employment. The other tehsils are Baramulla, Uru, Bandipora, Sopore, Gulmarg, Sonawari, Chadura, Badgam, Srinagar, Beerwah and Ganderbal from where labourers migrate seasonally. The proportion of outmigrants from these Tehsils is, however, insignificant being less than 2 per cent in each case. Sonawari Tehsil contributes only 7 persons to the total migrating labour forces and therefore it may be taken as negligible.

TABLE 4.2
Migratory Labourers : Source Areas—1975-76

<i>S. No.</i>	<i>Origin/Tehsils</i>	<i>Actual Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1.	Kulgam	16275	44.50
2.	Anantnag	1947	5.30
3.	Doru	3150	8.50
4.	Pahalgam	136	0.30
5.	Pulwama	1052	2.8
6.	Shupiyan	5932	16.2
7.	Tral	31	0.1
8.	Baramulla	397	1.08
9.	Uri	263	0.71
10.	Gulmarg	416	1.14
11.	Bandipore	260	0.70
12.	Sonawari	7	0.01
13.	Sopore	92	0.24
14.	Ganderbal	94	0.25
15.	Srinagar	481	1.31
16.	Chadura	570	1.55
17.	Badgam	311	0.85
18.	Beerwah	670	1.80
19.	Kupwara	2588	7.0
20.	Handwara	2213	6.0
21.	Karnah	22	0.06

Source : The data has been obtained from the Directorate of Evaluation and Statistics, Srinagar.

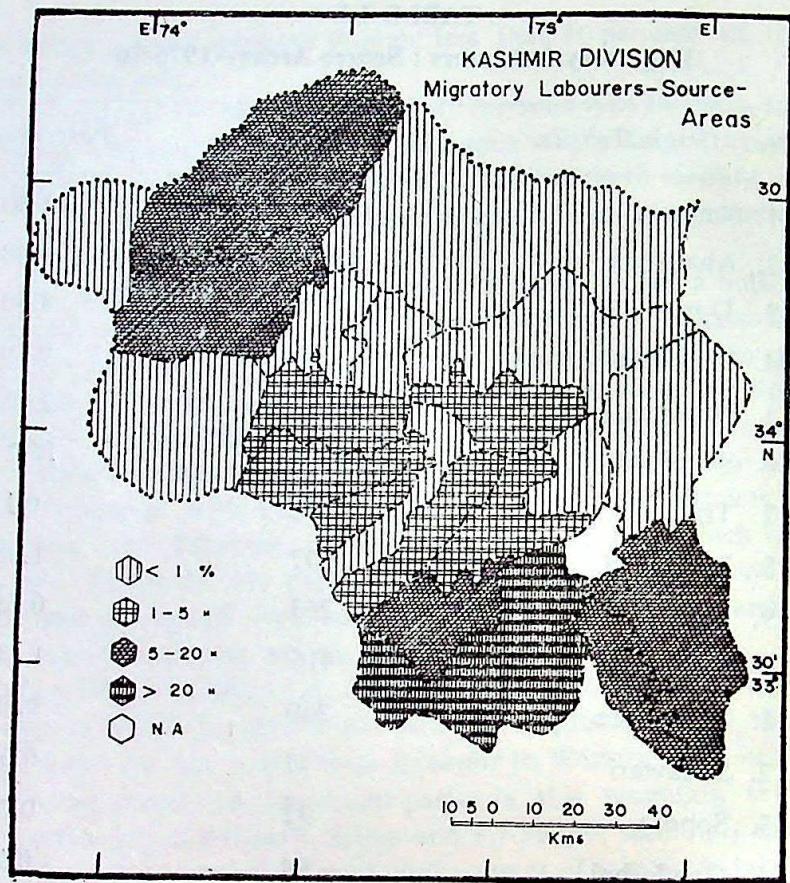


Fig. 4 I

In the present study, the major source areas of seasonal migration i.e. Kulgam, Shupiyan, Kupwara, Handwara and Doru have been taken and surveyed for detailed study. A socio-economic and demographic profile of the villages where from the labourers go out has been given in Chapter 2 and 3.

Destinations

The data generated and information gathered reveal that the seasonal migrants neither follow a uniform pattern nor they migrate to one city or State. In fact, they go to different places, cities and states, where they have job opportunities. The important places of their destination are : Jammu Division, Punjab,

Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Gujarat.

The States opted for stay and work during winters and the percentage of labour force which goes to the respective places have been given in Table 4.3.

TABLE 4.3
Migratory Labour—Destinations 1984-85

Places of origin Tehsilwise	Percentagewise							
	Jammu	Punjab	Haryana	Himachal Pradesh	Delhi	Uttar Pradesh	Rajas- than	Guja- rat
Doru	44.5	18.9	8.0	9.5	5.4	5.4	4.3	4.0
Handwara	47.8	16.1	12.1	7.4	8.5	3.2	2.1	2.1
Kulgam	22.5	50.0	6.2	7.5	5.0	2.5	3.8	2.5
Kupwara	11.1	35.6	25.5	10.0	5.6	3.4	4.4	4.4
Shupiyan	23.5	14.8	7.4	23.5	6.2	12.3	7.4	4.9
Average	29.9	27.1	12.0	11.6	6.1	5.3	4.4	3.6

Source : Field work by the authoress.

An analysis of Table 4.3 reveals that about 29.9 per cent of the total migratory labour is absorbed in Jammu Division. They find jobs and stay in Jammu city and other districts e.g. Udhampur, Punch, Rajouri, Riasi, Bhadarwah. In Jammu Division there are many projects and roads under construction which provide ample opportunities of employment to the labourers. These various developmental projects in the various areas in general and in *Kandi* belt in particular work as the pull-factor for the labourers. The Jammu-Srinagar National Highway (1-A) which is adversely affected by landslides and avalanches during winters also opens new avenues of employment.

Next important destination of labourers is the Punjab State which absorbs about 27 per cent of the seasonal labourers. In Punjab State they generally go to larger towns like Amritsar, Pathankot, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Firozpur, Ludhiana, Patiala,

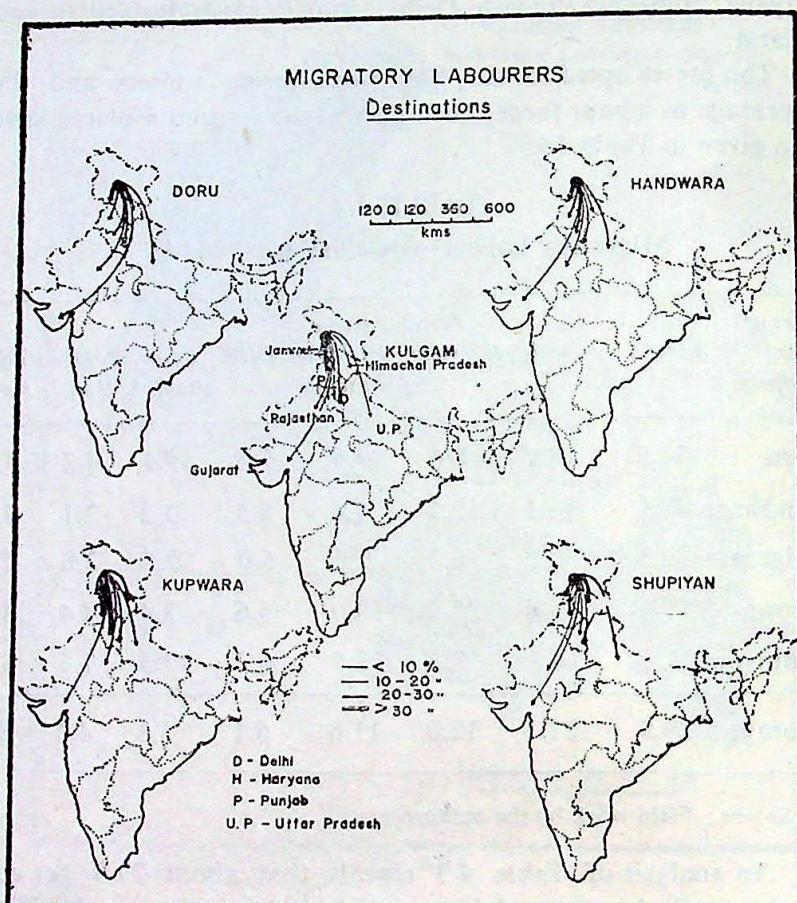


Fig. 4.2

Bhatinda, Batala, Garhshankar, Kapurthala, Phagwara and Ropar.

About 12 per cent labourers are absorbed in Haryana State especially in the district headquarters of Karnal, Ambala, Panipat, Kurukshetra, Sonepat, Hisar and Rohtak.

Under the impact of Green Revolution, Punjab and Haryana States have made tremendous progress in agriculture. They need extra labour force for the agricultural operations throughout the year. This provides employment to the unskilled labourers of Kashmir during winter season.

About 11.6 per cent of the migratory labourers go to Himachal Pradesh, where they remain scattered in the places like

Simla and Kangra. Contrary to this Uttar Pradesh absorbs 5.3 per cent of the Kashmiri labourers. In Uttar Pradesh they stay and work in the districts of Saharanpur, Nainital, Meerut, Aligarh, Bareilly, Moradabad, Rampur, Muzaffanagar, and Dehra-Dun. In these districts they find jobs in primary and tertiary sectors. The Union territory of Delhi provides employment to about 6 per cent migratory labourers and Rajasthan and Gujarat absorb about 4.4 per cent and 3.6 per cent respectively.

It may be noted from Table 4.3 that in the distribution of migratory labour, the *distance decay model* applies, which means that most of the labourers try to stay in Jammu (nearest place). Going away from Jammu, most of them prefer of work in the neighbouring States like Punjab and Harayana. As the distance increases, the number of migrants decreases. This indicates that the migrants prefer to stay in neighbouring states than to go far off places to save their money, energy and time. Besides in the neighbouring states they get better chances of employment and in case of urgency may visit their homes in short time after spending relatively less amount on travel.

Occupational Structure

We have seen in Chapter 3 that almost the entire migratory labour is illiterate. They are also unskilled. Only about 15 per cent are literates while 85 per cent are illiterate. At home, bulk of them are either cultivators with very small land holdings or agricultural labourers. Being mostly unskilled they get absorbed in ordinary jobs as manual workers at their destinations.

The jobs and occupations the labourers work in outside of the valley are given in Table 4.4.

An analysis of Table 4.4 shows that majority of workers i.e., about 71 per cent work as casual workers mainly as porters and coolies. Nearly 10 per cent work as wood Choppers, 9.4 per cent engages in paddy husking and a small percentage of 6.8 work as Commission Agents. A little percentage (2.5) get absorbed in small factories like sugarcane processing etc.

An analysis of Table 4.4 further shows that in Jammu Division major portion of migratory labour is engaged in casual labour. They work as labourers in different developmental projects i.e., construction of roads, buildings, power projects or with

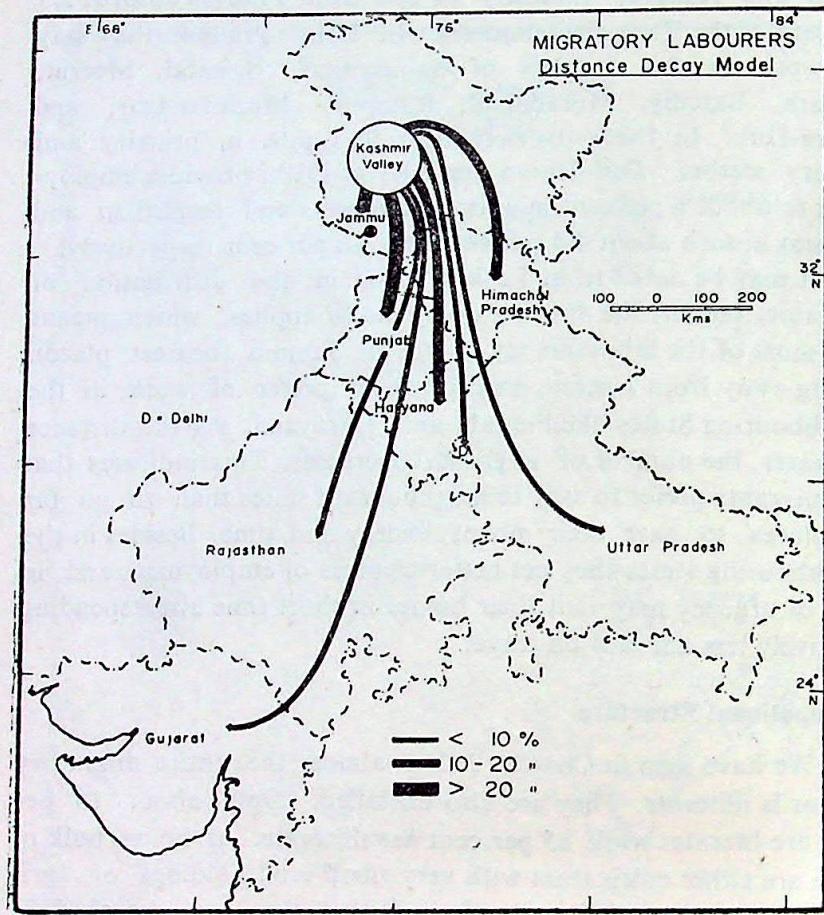


Fig 4 3

Army in the Sub-Tropical parts of Jammu Division. They also work in shops in Jammu city as load carriers. About 28 per cent of the workers are absorbed in wood-chopping in Jammu city and other districts like Udhampur, Rajouri, Punch etc.

In Punjab Paddy husking mills attract the labourers of various neighbouring states. Kashmir being no exception. About 41 per cent of Kashmiri labourers are employed in these mills. Kashmires have attained high proficiency in drying, milling and storing of paddy. Paddy is spread on specially made mud floors in the every hours of morning for drying. It is upturned several times during the day, so that every moist grain of paddy gets completely dried by the sun. In the evening it is collected in sacks and

TABLE 4.4

Occupations and professions adopted by the Kashmiri labourers
during winters—1984-85

Destination	Percentagewise				
	Paddy Husking	Wood chopping	Commission Agent	Casual labour	Seasonal factory works
Jammu	—	28.0	—	72.0	—
Punjab	41.1	3.0	35.9	15.0	5.0
Harayana	33.4	18.2	14.0	34.4	—
Himachal Pradesh	—	12.5	—	87.5	—
Delhi	—	—	4.2	95.8	—
Uttar Pradesh	—	19.0	—	71.0	10.0
Rajasthan	—	—	—	100.0	—
Gujarat	—	—	—	100.0	—
Average	9.4	10.0	6.8	71.3	2.5

Source : Field work by the authoress.

gunny bags. Next day it is send for milling to a rice-mill. The rice is then filled in gunny bags which are later on hand-stitched and send to *Mandies* and markets for sale. Each mill has its own labourers, whom it employs regularly in every harvesting season. Experience of the labour and the mutual trust of the employee and the employer are matters of great importance and have resulted in the bond of permanent close relationship between them. Paddy huskers are generally provided with huts and tents within the mill premises, where they stay together.

About 36% of the labourers work as 'Commission Agents' in Punjab. It is a peculiar type of work. Some big merchants give their articles like shawls, blankets, sweeters, *Dantun* (teeth-cleaner)

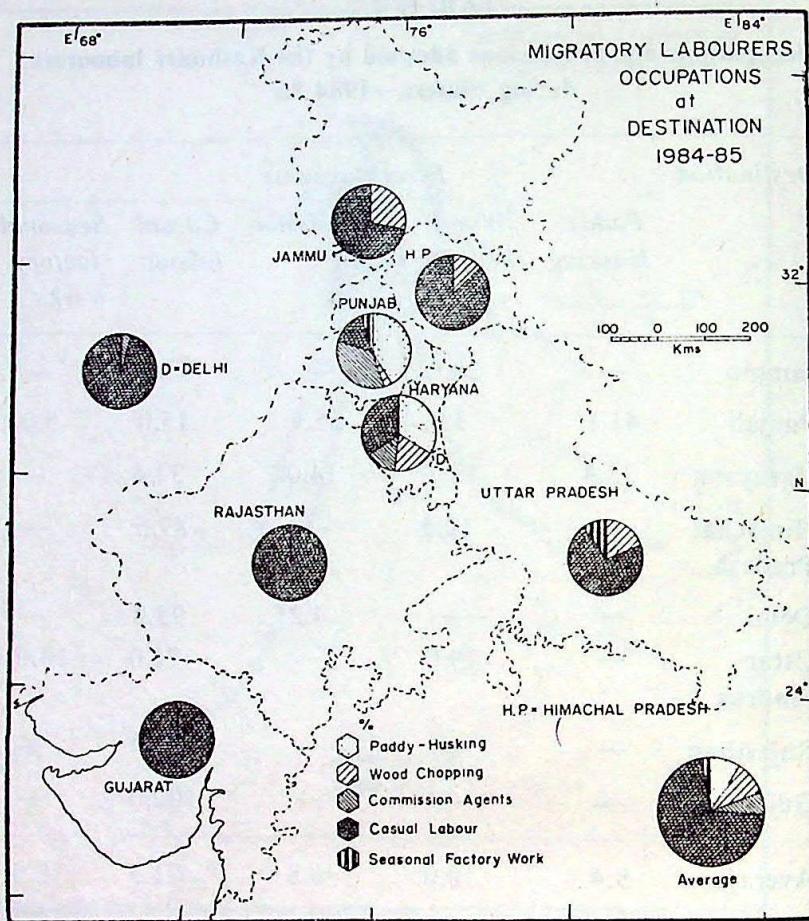


Fig 4.4

etc. to the workers to sell. They give them commission usually 7 to 12 per cent. They sell these articles in various neighbouring states and get profit and commission. About 15 per cent are absorbed as casual labourers in *Mandis* and markets. About 5 per cent labourers work as seasonal workers in factories like 'Saresh Factory' Kapurthala.

Haryana State also absorbs a major portion of labourers. In this state nearly 33.4 per cent got employment in 'paddy husking', 14% as 'Commission Agents', 34.4 per cent work as 'casual labourers' and 18.2 per cent as 'wood choppers'.

In Himachal Pradesh State a bulk of labourers (87.5%) is absorbed as casual labour. They work as coolies and carry the load of visitors and tourists from bus stand of Simla to the hotels

situated at the main ridge of the city. Some labourers are employed in factories for 'apple' and 'Tomato' packing. A percentage of 12.5 work as wood choppers in the forests of Himachal Pradesh.

In Delhi about 96 per cent of the incoming Kashmir labourers are absorbed as casual labourers. As a Metropolitan city, there are more opportunities of employment for casual labourers in Delhi. Labourers work usually in Sabzi Mandi, fruit market, in transport yards for loading and unloading the buses. They also work in shops and hotels. A small percentage (4.2) work as 'Commission Agents'.

Uttar Pradesh absorbs about 71 per cent of the incoming migratory labourers in the State as casual workers. About 19 per cent labourers do wood-chopping in the forests of Saharanpur, Dehra-Dun and Rampur. A lesser percentage (10%) is employed in factories like sugar factory in Bareilly.

In the States of Gujarat and Rajasthan they perform numerous types of unskilled activities.

Types of Destination

All seasonal migratory labourers do not have fixed destinations. Their destination changes and varies according to the nature of job. This phenomenon gives rise to two groups.

- (i) Migrants with fixed destination.
- (ii) Migrants with variable destinations.

The data collected on types of destination has been processed and arranged in Table 4.5.

An analysis of Table 4.5 reveals that 68.2 per cent enjoy 'Fixed destination' whereas 31.8 per cent have 'variable destination' throughout the season. In general the labourers engaged in occupations like paddy, husking, factory labour and other casual labourer have fixed destination. These occupations do not favour variable destinations. Migrants prefer to stay at one place throughout the season. Under some special conditions e.g., dispute, unfavourable socio-political conditions, strikes, they may change their destination. Moreover, the labourers engaged in 'wood chopping' and as 'Commission agents' do not have fixed destinations. Commission agents go from place to place in order to finish

TABLE 4.5

Migratory labourers—Types of Destination 1984-85

S. No.	Villages	Percentagewise types of destination	
		Fixed	Variable
1.	Bani-Mulla	100.00	—
2.	Bata-Gund	84.3	15.7
3.	Champora	91.4	8.6
4.	Doru	100.0	—
5.	Gundi-Hado	95.0	5.0
6.	Gagren	87.3	12.7
7.	Gungloosa	29.6	70.4
8.	Kalmona	21.0	79.0
9.	Kakran	100.0	—
10.	Khulora	94.0	6.0
11.	Kanipora	100.0	—
12.	Lok Bawan Larkipora	93.0	7.0
13.	Mundah	91.5	8.5
14.	Shupiyan	100.0	—
15.	Sangas	100.0	—
16.	Shoolora	15.0	85.0
17.	Solina	—	100.0
18.	Shumriyal	7.3	92.7
19.	Wowripora	17.8	52.2
20.	Wilgam	37.0	63.0
Average		68.2	31.8

Source : Field work by the authoress.

their work and get more and more profit. Wood choppers after finishing their work at one place go to another and in this way roam from one state to another.

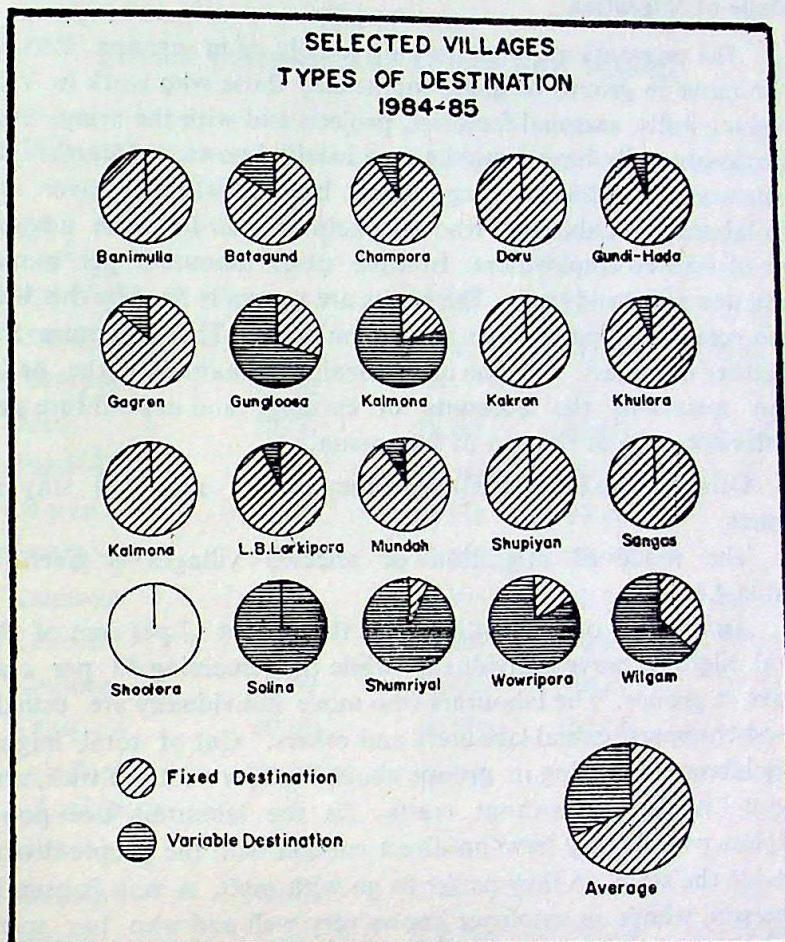


Fig. 4.5

Labourers of villages Kalmona, Solina, Shumriyal, Shoolora, Wowripora and Wilgam mainly work as 'Commission agents' and have variable destinations. Similarly, the migrants from Gungloosa being wood-choppers also have variable destinations.

Contrary to this, labourers from Bani-Mulla, Gundi-Hado, Gagren, Kakran, Khulora and Sangas are paddy huskers. They have fixed destinations. Similarly the migratory labourers from Bata-Gund, Champora, Doru, Kanipora, Lok Bawan Larkipora, Mundah and Shupiyan mainly work in shops, markets, Mandis, factories etc. so they also have fixed destinations.

Mode of Migration

The migrants move either individually or in groups. Persons who move in groups or gangs are usually those who work in rice-husking mills, seasonal factories, projects and with the army. Such people generally have a middle man locally known as '*Mait*'. The *mait* works as a link for negotiation between the employer and the labourers. Labourers who take help of *Mait* have the advantage of assured employment. In some cases labourers get money even one year in advance. The wages are generally fixed by the *Mait* who gets a fixed percentage of Commission. The labourers live together in a mess. In some cases earnings remain with the *Mait*, who maintains the accounts of earnings and expenditure and settles accounts at the end of the season.

Others move individually and they may or may not stay in a mess.

The mode of migration of selected villages is given in Table 4.6.

An analysis of Table 4.6 reveals that about 57 per cent of the total migrants move individually, while the remaining 43 per cent move in groups. The labourers who move individually are usually wood-choppers, casual labourers and others. Out of total migratory labourers moving in groups about 86.5 per cent are with, and about 13.5 per cent without *mait*s. As the labourers are poor, helpless people, they have no direct contact with the people living outside the state, so they prefer to go with *mait*. A *mait* is usually a person, whom an employer knows very well and who has spent several winters with him. He should be trust worthy, honest and true. *Mait*s, besides getting commission, also work with labourers. For example, a *mait* gets shawls, blankets, sweaters and other things from a merchant, he distributes these among the labourers of his gang and himself. He goes himself from place to place to sell his share. Similar is the case with paddy husking and other jobs. In this way he gets better earnings.

Seasonal Migration Schedule

The labourers stay out as long as the family circumstances of individual workers allow. Those with lesser or no land and those who leave behind some working force are free in early October or

TABLE 4.6
Selected Villages—Mode of Migration 1984-85

Villages	Percentagewise number of migrants moving			
	Individually	Groups	With mait	Without mait
Bani-Mulla	—	100.00	89.00	11.00
Bata-Gund	19.00	81.00	52.00	48.00
Champora	100.00	—	—	—
Doru	22.00	78.00	68.00	32.00
Gundi-Hado	20.00	80.00	100.00	—
Gagren	40.00	60.00	100.00	—
Gungloosa	90.00	10.00	100.00	—
Kalmona	70.00	30.00	60.00	40.00
Kakran	—	100.00	90.00	10.00
Khulora	8.00	92.00	80.00	20.00
Kanipora	40.00	60.00	100.00	—
Lok Bawan	85.00	15.00	60.00	40.00
Larkipora	—	—	—	—
Mundah	100.00	—	—	—
Shupiyan	100.00	—	—	—
Sangas	—	100.00	85.00	15.00
Shoolora	60.00	40.00	100.00	—
Solina	100.00	—	—	—
Shumriyal	80.00	20.00	100.00	—
Wawripora	100.00	—	—	—
Wilgam	100.00	—	—	—
Average	56.7	43.3	86.5	13.5

Source : Field work by the authoress.

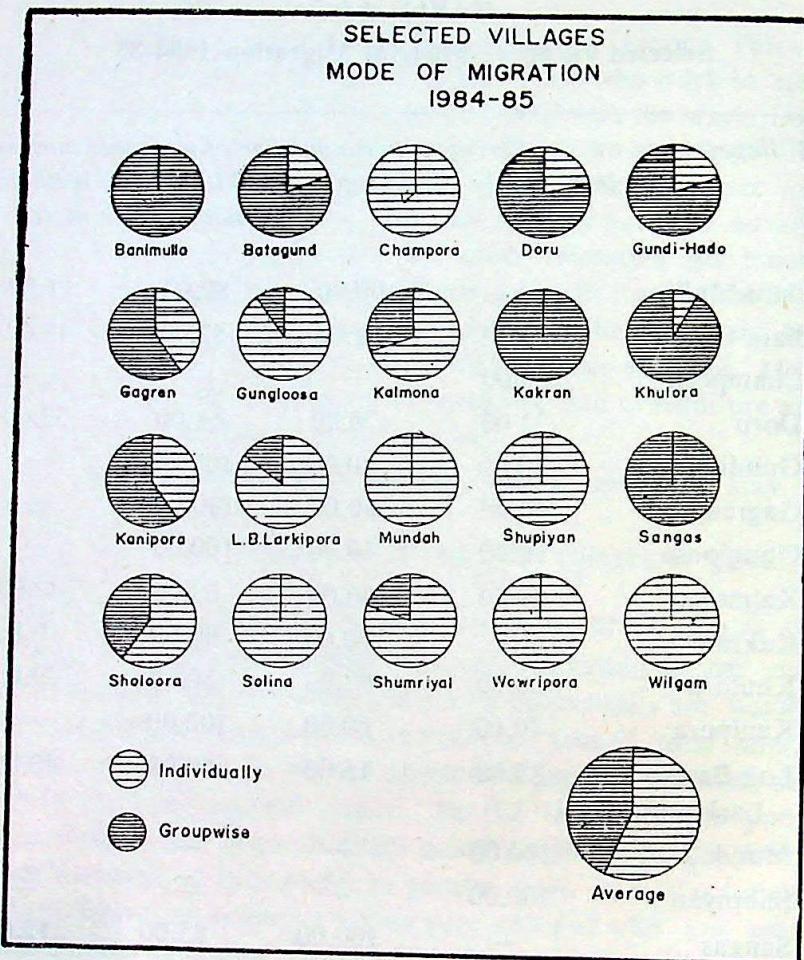


Fig 4.6(a)

even earlier and are the first to leave the Kashmir. They are not also keen to return until the working season in the Kashmir has fully set in i.e. later parts of April. On the other hand those who have sizeable land holdings and less work force in the family, they go out for a shorter period. The duration of stay also depends upon the job-opportunities at the destination, and the prevailing socio-political conditions in and outside of the valley.

The seasonal migration schedule of selected villages is given in Table 4.7.

An analysis of Table 4.7 recalls that out of twenty selected villages, the labourers of six villages have five months stay while

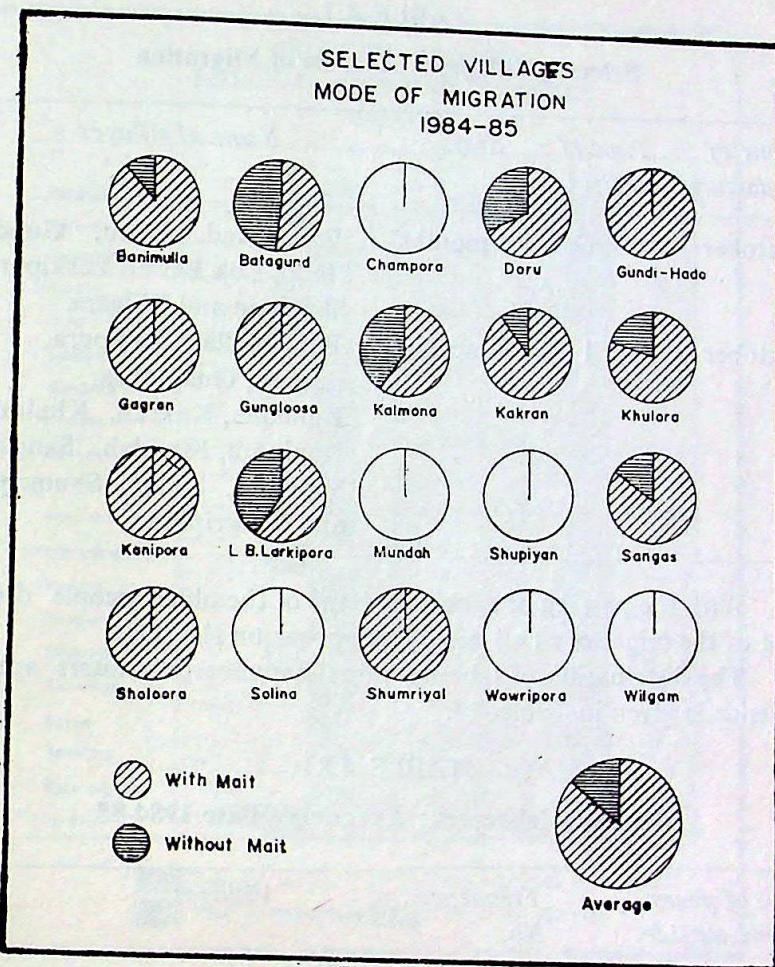


Fig. 4.6 (b)

the labourers of othe fourteen villages stay for about 6 months at the place of destination. This vividly shows that due to unemployment, less job opportunities and adverse weather, there is less attraction at home for these labourers.

Number of Winters spent outside

Migration of labourers is a very old tradition. It has continued regularly and the number of these migratory labourers has been going up alongwith the increase in population and improvement in the means of communication in the sub-continent, though there was a temporary slump in the immediate post portion years.

TABLE 4.7

Selected Villages : Schedule of Migration

<i>Time of departure</i>	<i>Time of arrival</i>	<i>Stay</i>	<i>Name of villages</i>
October	March	5 months	Bata-Gund, Doru, Gundihado, Lok Bawan Larkipora, Shupiyan and Wilgam.
October	April	6 months	Bani-Mulla, Champora, Gagren, Gungloosa, Kalmona, Kakran, Khulora, Kanipora, Mundah, Sangas, Shoolora, Solina, Shumriyal and Wowripora.

With the passing of each year some of the older people drop out of the migratory and new faces appear on the stage.

The distribution of labourers by the number of winters spent outside is given in Table 4.8.

TABLE 4.8

Migratory labourers : Experience Base 1984-85

<i>No. of years spend outside as seasonal workers</i>	<i>Frequency No.</i>	<i>Villages</i>
30 above	8	Bani-Mulla, Champora, Gundihado, Khulora, Mundah, Sangas, Shoolora and Solina.
20—30	5	Gagren, Gungloosa, Kalmona, Kanipora and Kakran.
10—20	4	Shupiyan, Shumriyal, Wilgam and Wowripora.
Below 10	3	Bata-Gund, Doru, Lok Bawan Larkipora.

Source : Field work by the authoress.

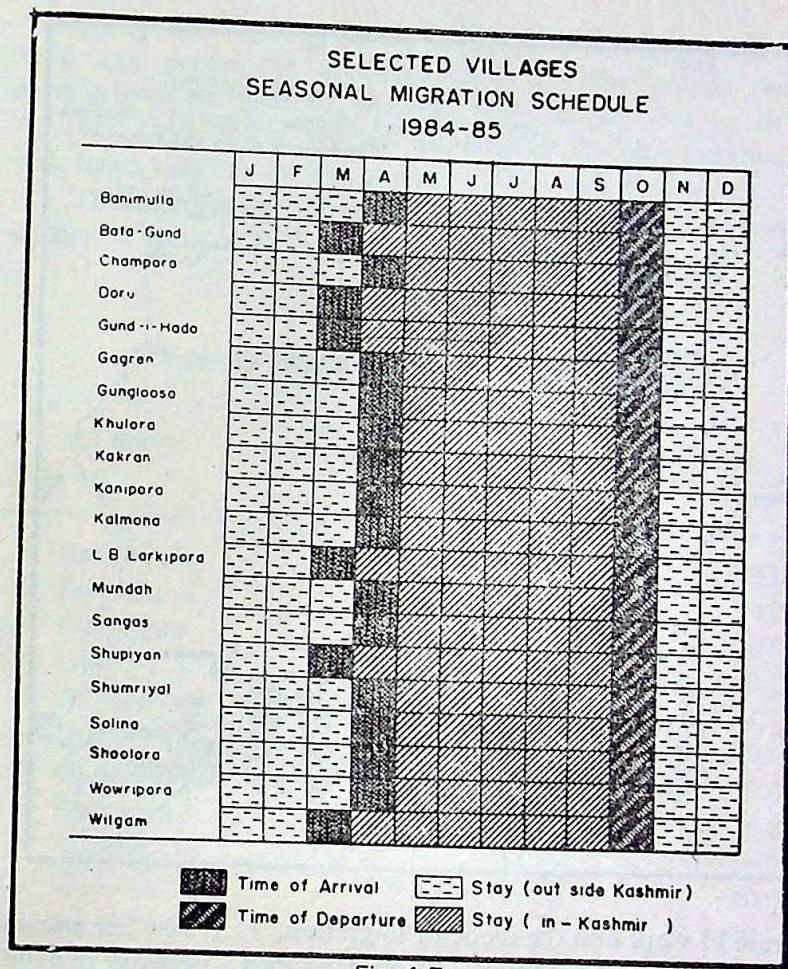


Fig 4 7

It may be seen from Table 4.8 that out of selected twenty villages there are 8 villages (Champora, Bani-Mulla, Gund-Hado, Khulora, Mundah, Sangas, Shoolora Solina) in which the people have an experience of working outside of the valley during winters for 30 or more years. Interestingly enough in none of the villages, it is less than 10 years. This fact supports the hypothesis that seasonal migration is an age old phenomena which has ups and downs owing to the geo-political situation in the region.

Accommodation

The accommodation of seasonal migrants depends upon the

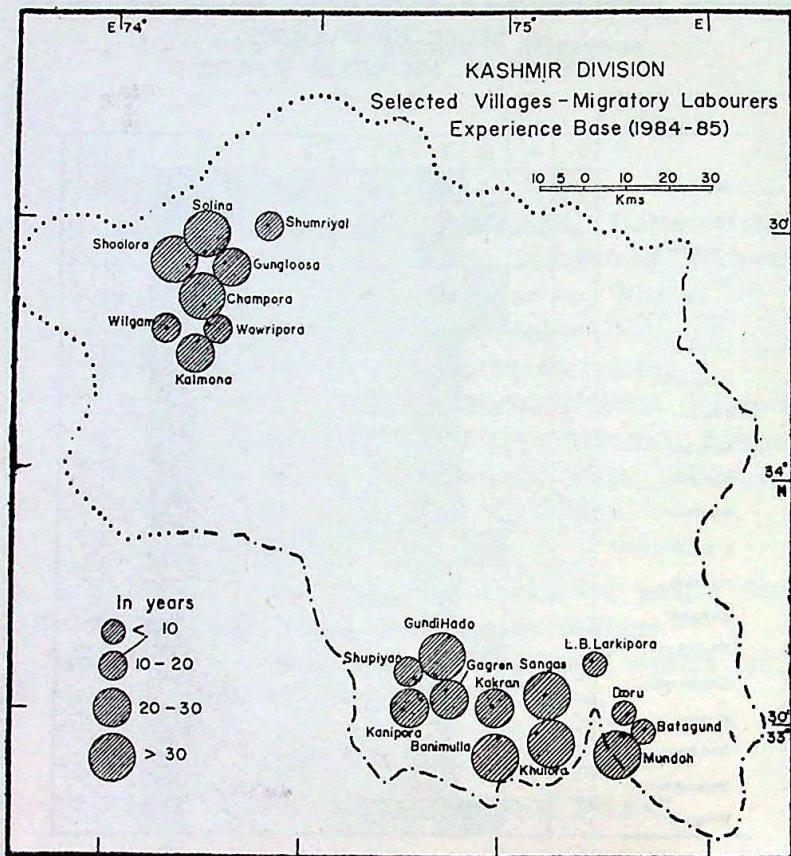


Fig. 4-8

nature of work and the mode of migration, i.e., whether moving individually or in groups. Those labourers who work in paddy husking mills and other seasonal factories, projects or with the Army are provided with sheds and tents by their employers. They mostly live jointly and cook meals themselves.

Others live either in rent paid rooms or *Shop-Tharas*, *Sarais*, *mosques*, *Gurdwaras* and other rent free places. The labourers who work in shops, *Mandis* or markets live in rent paid rooms. About 6-8 persons live in one room. They cook their meals themselves. Those labourers who work as wood-choppers or other casual labourers usually use rent free *Shop-Tharas*, *mosques*, *Gurdwaras* and other places as their accommodation. As they remain moving from one place to another, they do not have any permanent accommodation.

The labourers who work as 'Commission Agents' also do not have any permanent accommodation as they mostly remain moving from one place to another. They usually live in *Sarais*. As they have costly articles like Shawls, blankets, sweaters etc. with them, they cannot live in unsafe places like *Shop-tharas*.

The distribution of accommodation of labourers of selected villages is given in Table 4.9.

TABLE 4.9

Migratory Labourers : Type of Accommodation

S. No.	Villages	Percentagewise accommodation type	
		Rent paid	Rent free
1.	Bani-Mulla	—	100.00
2.	Bata-Gund	66.0	34.00
3.	Champora	—	100.00
4.	Doru	61.00	39.00
5.	Gundi-Hado	76.00	24.00
6.	Gagren	—	100.00
7.	Gungloosa	—	100.00
8.	Kalmona	80.00	20.00
9.	Kakran	34.00	66.00
10.	Khulora	10.00	90.00
11.	Kanipora	—	100.00
12.	Lok Bawan Larkipora	40.00	60.00
13.	Mundah	10.00	90.00
14.	Shupiyan	45.00	55.00
15.	Sangas	—	100.00
16.	Shoolora	70.00	30.00
17.	Solina	75.00	25.00
18.	Shumriyal	80.00	20.00
19.	Wowripora	70.00	30.00
20.	Wilgam	90.00	10.00
Average		40.3	59.7

Source : Field work by the authoress.

An examination of Table 4.9 shows the rent free dwellers outnumber the rent payers in most of the cases. The labourers of Bani-Mulla, Champora, Gagren, Gungloosa, Kanipora and Sangas have a tradition to stay in rent free accommodation either provided by employers or places like mosques, and *Shop-Tharas*.

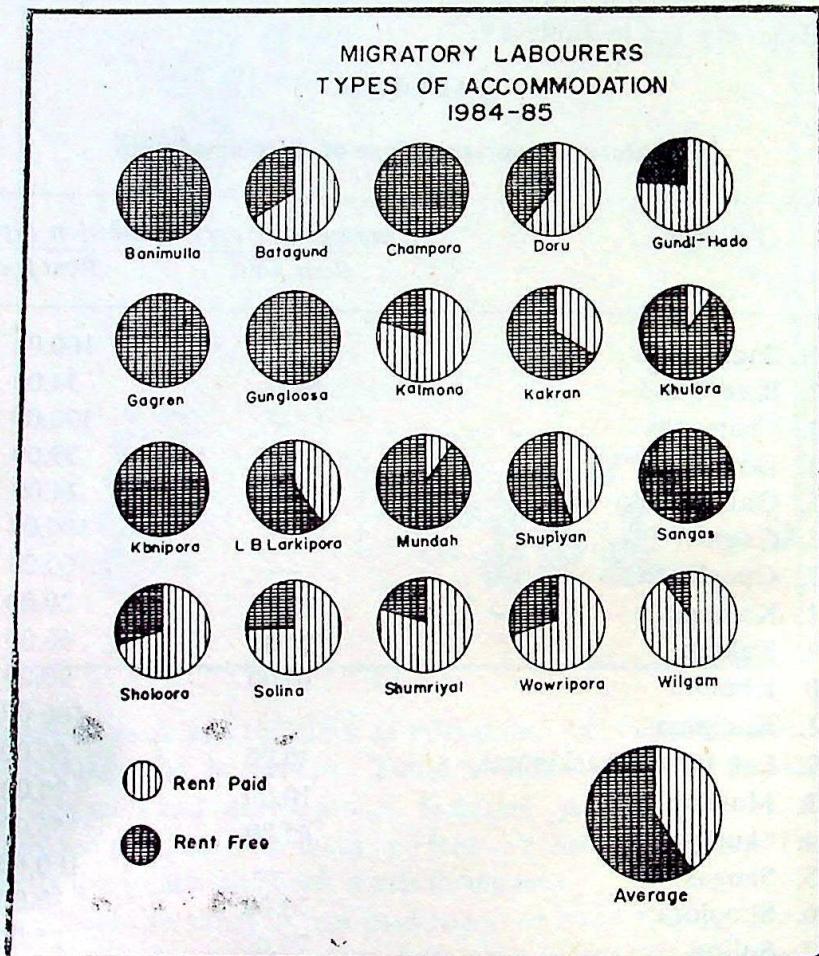


Fig. 4.9

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3. *Ibid.*, p. 250.
4. Kaul, A.K., 1979, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

Conclusion

The main findings of the study 'Seasonal Migration of Kashmiri Labour' is been given in the present chapter. Some valuable suggestions have been made on the basis of the study which may go a long way in overcoming the difficulties of the labourers.

In all the twenty sample villages agriculture is the dominant economic activity. Almost the exclusive population is dependent on cultivation of crops and the landless labourers (6 per cent) assist the farmers in their agricultural operations. The population of these villages has registered a growth rate of 26.6 per cent as against 25 per cent and 31 per cent for the country and the state respectively during the 1971-81 period. The literacy rate is only 14.8 per cent which is much less to the state's literacy rate of 27 per cent. The literacy rate among the females is significantly low (5.7 per cent) which indicates the tradition bound nature of the society in which females are not given equal opportunities for their personality development. The illiterate male work-force who have very little or no arable land generally outmigrate during winters to earn their livelihood and to send money for the dependent family members.

The average size of family is 7.3 in which the joint family system is prevalent. About 45 per cent of the total population belongs to juvenile and senile age group and are thus dependent on the work-force. The dependency ratio is significantly high, being 191.

On the basis of occupation the rural population of Kashmir is divisible into upper and medium *Kram* (castes). It has been ascertained that the people of medium castes (*Kram*) constitute the major part of the migratory labour generally outmigrate during

winters, while the farmers belonging to upper castes desist from going out in search of employment unless the family circumstances and the vigories of weather compel. This statement is supported by the fact that out of total outmigrants 6 per cent belong to the landless category and remaining 94 per cent to the marginal farming community. The average monthly income of the sample households of the selected villages is Rs. 360/- per month which show that most of the labourers are living at a very low standard of living and below the line of poverty. The main cause of lower level of income in the rural parts of Kashmir Division may be attributed to the small size of holdings poor land use intensity, low yields per unit area and high dependency ratio. Moreover, those who stay behind need adequate woollens and *Balan* (fuelwood) to combat the *Wandah* (severe cold) during the period of *Chilla-kalan* (22nd Dec. to 31st Jan.). Invariably, *Kangri* becomes a companion of the entire population in which charcoal, an expensive fuel is used. *Bukhari* (indigenous heater) is also used during severe cold and the coal used in it is an expensive commodity.

Apart from the environmental and economic factors, the social factors are also largely responsible for the seasonal migration. In the poor castes of Kashmir it has been found that the parents of the bridegroom have to pay the price of the bride to her parents, which in many cases may be substantial. For arranging this money, the youths go in the plains, particularly during winters. Moreover, the instinctive urge in all humans to seek a change of environment and to add variety to otherwise monotonous life is satisfied through migration to new areas. This change of place also helps in earning extra income.

The study about the spatial sources of migratory labour are the villages of Kulgam, Shupiyan, Kupwara, Handwara and Doru Tehsils. It is interesting to note that nearly two-third of the labour comes from the villages situated on the northern slopes of Pir-Panjal Range.

The seasonal migrants prefer to move in groups and get employment through *Maitis* (middle-men). The system though a guarantee for job but the *Maitis* exploit the poors who survive on their muscles. The process of recruitment and mode of movement need indepth study to be taken by the State Labour Department.

The main destinations of the Kashmiri labour are the towns

of Jammu Division, Punjab, Haryana, Delhi, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh. About 30 per cent of the labourers stay in Jammu city and its environs, and 27 per cent of them find employment in the towns of Punjab (Amritsar, Pathankot, Jullunder, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, Patiala). Nearly 12 per cent of the total migratory labour stays in the towns of Haryana (Ambala, Karnal, Rohtak, Panipat), while 12 per cent of them go to Simla and Kangra. In Delhi and U.P. nearly 6 per cent and 5 per cent of the labourers find jobs respectively and only 3 per cent go to the towns of Rajasthan and other states of the country. The flow of seasonal migratory labour of Kashmir is in conformity to the distance decay model (Fig. 4.3).

A great majority of the labourers (71 per cent) work as casual labourers—porters, coolies etc. Wood-chopping (10 per cent), paddy husking (9.4 per cent), commission agents (6.8%) and seasonal factory workers (2.5%) are the other jobs in which the labour is absorbed.

The labourers are, however, divisible into i.e. (i) those with fixed destination and (ii) those with variable destination. Those with fixed destination constitute about 68 per cent total labour force while the remaining 32 per cent change their destinations. In deciding the change in destination economic gains and social milieu play vital roles. It has been found that those who work in occupations like paddy-husking, factory workers and casual labourers have fixed destinations while those who engage in wood-chopping and commission agents change their destination from month to month and year to year. Rent free accommodation given by the employer also helps in changing the work to be performed and the place of employment.

Seasonal migration of Kashmiri labour is not an organised activity. No agency, public or private, is directly connected with regulating the migration, recording their whereabouts and caring for their welfare. Right from the movement they leave their homes with their baggage they seldom get the right treatment they deserve be it with regard to bus travel or accommodation within their Kashmir Division, the State or in the neighbouring states. No transport facilities are available to migrants at Wanpoh or Qazi-Gund on the National Highway No. 1. They have to spend cold October nights on the roadsides before a fully occupied bus

picks them up. Despite the full fare charged, they have to travel in discomfort as such buses are over-crowded.

Those who arrive in Srinagar from North Kashmir get proper bus accommodation but the night of stay in Srinagar is to be spent on the foot path or at the bus-stand, in the absence of a *Sarai* or a Public lodge provided by the Government.

Physical inconvenience apart their meagre but precious material possessions lay exposed and any loss suffered by them at this stage increase to their plights. No security is guaranteed to them at their destination outside Kashmir Division. The rent free accommodation opted by or offered to them is no safe place for storing their merchandise which some of them intend hawking. They suffer unbearable losses at times. Many of them stay in mosques e.g., Jama-Masjid, Mosques of Saharanpur etc. as they cannot afford to stay in rented accommodation. Being simple, God-fearing and docile by nature the outmigrants fall an easy prey to the mechanisations of scoundrels, they are often divested of their precious and hard earned cash or other possessions.

The storing urge to save as much as they can out of their daily earnings in order to meet the innumerable demands of their households they live in abject poverty as regards their food—clothing and shelter. This makes them pitiable in the hands of others. Thus feeling forlorn and uncared for in strange surroundings they feel dispirited. They do not command any respect on account of their poverty and face the problem of adjustment in new cultural milieu.

Where they go in groups their employment is in the hands and at the mercy of their *Maitis*. The *Mait* gives first preference to his acquaintances. He makes others to serve him or takes bribe from them before he puts them on a remunerative job. In this way many of their man-days are wasted.

In case of illness, their miseries are accentuated as no free medical aid is forthcoming to them. Payment of medical bills to private practitioners is beyond their means. These labourers get arbitrary wages; inadequate and not commensurable with the efforts they have put in. In many cases the unsettled socio-political conditions at their destination, at times, leaves them penniless and wretched with opportunities for earning their wages sealed, they think of returning to their homes or shifting to some other

places, but they do not possess enough money to pay even for return bus fare. They have no safe place to keep their savings. They deposit either with the employer or with the *Mait*, who invest these without passing on the interest to them. Being illiterate they lose count of money, deposited with either of the parties. On the eve of their return they are made to spend their cash, at a shop or establishment of employer's or *Mait*'s choice, wherefrom they again earn a discount.

The problems of the labourers are numerous and deserve short term and long term plannings. Some of the steps which can go a long way in reducing the miseries of Kashmiri labourers have been given in the following paras.

Seasonal migration of Kashmiri labour if well-planned and thoughtfully organised can have scotching impact on the economically backward sections of our society. Seasonal migration must bring within its purview both literate and illiterate, skilled and unskilled workers.

Kashmiris have suffered isolation for centuries. Seasonal migration is a step to break the barriers of isolation. The movement of labourers from Kashmir to Indian Plains be regulated so that they can combine recreation with remuneration.

There is an appreciable exodus of people from Kashmir during winter connected with secretarial service, fruit cultivation and export, sale of Kashmir handicrafts, holiday makers or briefly, of those who can afford. Let us seek and utilise opportunities for those who cannot afford the same on their own. For them seasonal migration is the solution.

If well taken care of the migratory labourers will come closer to national mainstream and this is likely to lead to emotional integration of our countrymen.

For all those able bodied workers who are rendered jobless or become economically un-productive during winter months, migration to warmer parts of the state and the country can serve as an ideal means of raising them above poverty line.

A Migration Bureau, exclusively for the migratory labourers, needs to be created, immediately, in the commissiorate of labour, Government of J & K for its efficient planning and effective organisation. This bureau will look after the interests of the migratory labour. Branches of this migration bureau be established

as key centres in Jammu Division and in other states of the country usually visited by our migratory labourers.

A survey be conducted in the major towns of Northern India to identify jobs suitable for our migratory labourers. They be guided to those places.

Identity cards be issued to each migratory labourer so that he can get facilities and concession on its production. Concession on bus/railway fare be offered to the migratory labourers. Such facilities as safe accommodation free medical aid, rationed food grains particularly rice etc., be extended to them within the state and outside it.

Government of Jammu and Kashmir must built Sarais at Srinagar, Wanpoh, Qazi Gund and Jammu city for the exclusive use of card holding migratory labourers. Proper security and legal aid to migratory labourers in respective places of destination be negotiated with the concerned local authorities.

Government Migration Bureau staff should monitor the movement of the migratory labourers, attend to their needs and guide them in the deposit of their savings in post-offices or nationalised banks. The arrangement and unreasonable behaviour of the *Maitis*, if any, may be looked into and even done away with.

None of these steps can bring the desired results unless a pragmatic comprehensive plan is made to look after the interests of the seasonal migrants of Kashmir. Sooner it is done the better for the upliftment of the down trodden section of Kashmir Division.

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Appendices

APPENDIX—I

<i>Locality</i>	<i>Literacy Rate</i> (%age)	<i>Sex Ratio</i>	<i>CBR</i>	<i>CDR</i>	<i>Dependency Ratio</i>	<i>Work force</i> (%age-wise)
Bani-Mulla	6.0	833	42.4	12.2	220.5	31.2
Bata-Gund	18.4	850	35.1	8.6	171.0	37.0
Champora	Nil	1000	46.9	11.3	233.3	30.0
Doru	29.1	937	18.1	8.0	175.5	36.3
Gundi-Hado	12.8	786	32.4	14.5	151.9	39.7
Gagren	12.2	850	36.3	13.1	134.7	42.6
Gungloosa	16.2	815	43.2	12.0	212.5	32.0
Khulora	14.8	763	38.2	12.4	206.7	32.6
Kakran	3.5	933	37.9	11.2	166.0	37.6
Kanipora	14.0	750	35.7	11.5	137.5	42.1
Kalmona	11.5	857	38.5	12.0	216.5	31.6
L.B. Larkipora	25.6	882	22.0	11.3	181.7	35.5
Mundah	8.1	780	39.0	14.2	221.5	31.1
Sangas	18.8	902	34.2	10.3	175.5	36.3
Shupiyan	21.4	923	25.0	11.0	138.1	42.0
Shumriyal	16.7	895	23.3	12.2	210.5	32.2
Solina	15.5	846	35.1	16.6	246.0	28.9
Shoolora	17.9	805	40.5	10.7	246.0	28.9
Wowripora	12.5	815	41.7	13.5	208.2	32.4
Wilgam	20.4	880	34.6	9.1	185.7	35.0
Average	14.8	855	35.0	11.7	191.4	35.1

CBR—Crude Birth Rate; CDR—Crude Death Rate.

APPENDIX-II

Locality	Occupations			Area (Per- acres)	available head population Per capita income (Rs.)
	Prim- ary	Second- ary (%tagewise)	Terti- ary		
Bani-Mulla	100.0	—	—	0.12	56.3
Bata-Gund	93.0	2.0	5.0	0.11	60.8
Champora	92.0	4.0	4.0	0.01	50.0
Doru	80.0	9.0	11.0	0.38	79.0
Gundi-Hado	89.0	7.0	4.0	0.14	56.7
Gagren	81.0	6.0	13.0	0.13	57.0
Gungloosa	95.0	—	5.0	0.19	55.6
Khulora	86.0	8.0	6.0	0.14	51.0
Kakran	100.0	—	—	0.18	67.2
Kanipora	85.0	5.0	10.0	0.19	70.0
Kalmona	88.0	6.0	6.0	0.16	65.4
L.B. Larkipora	79.0	11.0	10.0	0.13	62.5
Mundah	91.0	—	9.0	0.17	57.2
Sangas	83.0	9.0	8.0	0.17	55.1
Shupiyan	79.0	15.0	6.0	0.16	56.0
Shumriyal	85.0	8.0	7.0	0.13	60.4
Solina	84.0	9.0	7.0	0.12	59.7
Shoolora	91.0	5.0	4.0	0.13	52.7
Woripora	82.0	6.0	12.0	0.13	62.2
Wilgam	86.0	8.0	6.0	0.25	63.8
Average	86.8	6.1	7.1	0.16	60.0

Questionnaires

VILLAGE SCHEDULE

1. S. No. _____ 2. Name of the Village _____
3. Nomenclature _____
4. Location _____ Terrain _____ Accessibility _____
5. Population _____ Male _____ Female _____
6. Religion _____
7. Castes : 1. 2. 3. 4.
 5. 6. 7. 8.
8. Occupation Primary _____
 Secondary _____
 Tertiary _____
9. Labour dependent on agriculture _____
10. Nearest Town/Market _____
11. School _____
12. Bank _____
13. Public Health _____
14. Co-operative Society _____
15. Post-Office _____
16. Electricity _____
17. Running water _____
18. Irrigation _____
19. Drainage System _____
20. Roads _____
21. Govt. Office _____
22. Any Developmental Programme _____

HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE

1. S. No. _____
2. Village _____
3. Head of the Family _____
4. Family type _____ (i) Joint (ii) Nuclear (iii) Single
5. Size of the family _____ Male Female
6. Age of the family members _____ Male Female
7. Education _____ Male Female
 - (a) Below primary _____
 - (b) Primary _____
 - (c) Middle _____
 - (d) Above Matric _____
 - (e) Technical training _____
8. Marital Status : Married (un-married/divorced/separate/widow)
9. Age at marriage : _____ Male Female
10. Fertility _____
11. Mortality _____
12. Occupation _____ Primary _____
Secondary _____
Tertiary _____
Landless _____
13. Employment : Throughout the year Seasonal
Employed _____
Unemployed _____
14. Landholding _____ Area _____
15. Type of crop _____ Kharif/Rabi
16. Type of soil : Kandi/Maidani/Barfani

17. Work force in the family : Male

Female

18. Dependents : _____

19. Total income :

Agri.	Milk	Orchard	Poultry	Firewood	Casual	Other
Labour						

20. Expenditure :

Food	Clothing	Education	Health	Housing	Fuel	Miscellaneous
------	----------	-----------	--------	---------	------	---------------

21. Source of income during the off season _____

22. Do you go out of the valley to earn your livelihood Yes/No

23. Cause of Seasonal Migration :

- (a) Employment
- (b) To fetch money for marriage
- (c) To minimize expenditure on fuel and warm clothes
- (d) Health reason
- (e) Any other reason.

24. Do you go independently or in group?

25. Do you take the help of Mait (middle man)?

- (a) How much you pay to the Mait as Commission?
- (b) How the wage rate is fixed?
- (c) Do you get some advance from the Mait?
- (d) Do you suggest some change in the method.

26. Time of migration..... day..... month.....

27. Place of Migration :

State _____

District _____

Town _____

Village _____

28. Stops at the time of migration _____

29. Reasons for stay _____

30. Duration of stay _____

31. How many winters have you spent outside.
32. Mode of migration (transport) bus/truck/train.
33. Occupation during winters—
 - (a) Employment in shops, farms, factories
wood-cutting.
 - (b) Casual labour
 - (c) Any other occupation.
34. Food habits in winters : Breakfast
Lunch
Dinner
35. Problem of adjustment in winters—
 - (a) Do you get a rented house easily?
 - (b) Do you stay in hotels/
Sarai shares houses/
Musafir Khanas' sheds/
Mosques/Shop tharas/open.
36. Type of accommodation : Rent paid/Rent free.
37. Accommodation used for cooking : Living Rooms/
Kitchen/Open.
38. Medical & other amenities _____
39. Major problems you face in winter _____
40. Approximate per month income in winter _____
41. (a) How much amount per month you remit?
(b) Mode of remittance.
42. Do you save cash or bring articles and other
jewellery?
43. Time of Return Date _____ Month _____
44. Problems at the way back _____
45. Suggestions, if any, _____

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